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POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

ROMANIAN LEADERS THANK GDR COUNTERPARTS FOR GREETINGS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 4-5 Jun 77 p 1 AU

[Text] To Comrade Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; Comrade Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Berlin.

Esteemed comrades: On behalf of the RCP Central Committee, the State Council and the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, as well as the Romanian people, we thank you for the cordial congratulations conveyed to us on the occasion of the centenary of the proclamation of Romania's state independence by the SED Central Committee, the State Council and the people of the GDR.

The achievement of Romania's state independence represents a brilliant crowning of our people's centuries of heroic struggle and a decisive moment in the glorious history of the fatherland. We note with full satisfaction that the relations of friendship and fraternal cooperation between our parties, countries, and peoples in the spirit of the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in Bucharest on 12 May 1972 have undergone substantial development in all spheres of activities.

We are firmly convinced that our impending visit to your country and the talks which we will have on this occasion will add new scope to the relations between the RCP and the SED, between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the GDR, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and world peace.

Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

Manea Manescu, premier of the government of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

CSO: 2300

ALBANIA

EFFORTS TO SABOTAGE PARTY LINE ON DEFENSE MATTERS RECALLED

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 12 Apr 77 p 3

[Article by Detar Avdia, worker in the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Party: "Let Us Direct Better and Better the Work for the Theoretical Study and Assimilation of Our People's Military Art"]

[Excerpts] At present, the armed people have a great treasure at their disposal--the revolutionary military doctrine of our party, the military theory and practice of the people's war, the art which is diametrically opposed to the military views of the bourgeois and revisionist ideologists.

The Seventh Party Congress assigned us the duty of always being devoted soldiers of the revolution, faithful fighters for the defense and persistent implementation of the military line of the party, which is a component, inseparable part of its general Marxist-Leninist line. This is one of the main duties of the work of the party organs and organizations, which must carry further the work of leadership and organization, work concretely with all structures of defense, and study and assimilate in theory and in practice the teachings of the party in the military field. Also, there is the obligation to increase and strengthen our vigilance in protecting the military line from every foreign influence and pressure, from every distortion and perversion or erroneous interpretation, to be a barricade against any influence of bourgeois-revisionist military art. The enemies of the party and of the people in the armed forces, Beqir Balluku, Petrit Dume, and Hito Cako, used all maneuvers and methods to sabotage the line and teachings of the party in the field of defense and tried to replace the principles and requirements of our people's military art with opinions belonging to imperialist-revisionist military art. In all this great plotting activity, these enemies clutched at the weakening, lessening, and removal of the leading role of the party in the armed forces as key links. But the iron hand and the sharp sword of the party and the high revolutionary vigilance of the people and of the armed forces liquidated these enemies and putschists. The army remained faithful to the people and the party; it was further strengthened and its combat skills were raised to the highest level.

Now it is important to expose and combat foreign manifestations and concepts which appear here and there and which obstruct military activity, such as

bureaucracy and liberalism, routinism and schematism, paving the way for creative opinion, the practical revolutionary spirit of the masses, initiative and independent action in the field of the study and implementation of the people's military art.

To study people's military art means to understand in theory and to put into practice every principle, every demand, every thesis of the Marxist-Leninist military science of our party. We cannot allow a party organization or a party committee, this command or that cadre to copy this or that assignment, repeating in a scholarly manner the things which are written in a textbook. Those attitudes which are held here and there where work is done in a stereotyped manner cannot be correct. The same is true for the attitudes of those who have learned what they know from the schools and think that "they know and understand it all." Therefore, it is necessary that the party organs and organizations struggle more strongly against old forms and practices which might become common and annoying.

In this direction, the theoretical study and assimilation of the military science of the party by our cadres have been and remain permanent and first priority duties.

CSO: 2100



## ALBANIA

### APOLITICISM OF PACRAMI, LUBONJA DECRIED IN LITERARY JOURNAL

Tirana NENTORI in Albanian Mar 77 pp 43-56

[Article by Vitore Ballvora: "Artistic Creativity and Objective Reality"]

[Excerpts] The enemies of the people and of the party have tried time after time to impose on our art and literature and reactionary views on the content and function of art. According to these views which were attacked by the party, artistic creativity is separated from the ideological struggle and there cannot be any ideology in art. By trampling on the principle of the party spirit in art and the class attitude in culture and, especially, in tradition, an apoliticism in art, which is analagous to the so-called "realism without frontiers" of the pseudo-Marxist Roger Garaudy, is preached. In their anti-socialist and anti-national platform, F. Pacrami and T. Lubonja sought to abandon the great social themes because, supposedly, people were tired of them and proposed that, in their stead, so-called free, eternal themes be treated; thus they attempted to put apoliticism into literature and art and to put in their pseudo-ideas which actually deny the socio-political class content of art. At the same time, on the part of these persons and their followers there was an over-evaluation of the supposedly innovative form in comparison with the idea content and opinions were expressed against the model artistic figure, branding it as not appropriate for the times and anachronistic. All these things were expressions of foreign influences from revisionist countries where the denigration of the literature of socialist realism and Marxist-Leninist aesthetics has been completed, calling this literature and aesthetics sociological orgnoseological, saying that this prevents the development of "true art" (read decadence) and damages its artistic values since the feelings and intuition of the creator should dominate in art. It is obvious that all these pseudo-theories aim at the separation of art from reality, from life, and from the people.

CSO: 2100

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

HOFFMAN DELIVERS REPORT, CLOSING SPEECH TO NINTH TU CONGRESS

Report to Congress

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0920 GMT 25 May 77 LD

["First part" of report delivered to the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress in Prague by Karel Hoffman, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions--live]

[Text] Esteemed comrades: Esteemed comrade delegates: Dear guests: In the year of the glorious jubilee of the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we are meeting at the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress to openly and critically review the work carried out since the eighth congress, to render account to our members and to all working people and at the same time--on the basis of the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress--to establish the direction and contents of the activities of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [RTUM] for the next stage of the building of a developed socialist society.

The Ninth All-Trade Union Congress was preceded by lengthy political and organizational preparations. They consisted of 250,000 annual members' meetings of trade union sections, almost 50,000 annual meetings and conferences of workshop and primary organizations, hundreds of district and branch and all-trade union conferences and 55 congresses whose delegates represented the 6.6 million members of RTUM. The preparations for the congress took place in a creative atmosphere of unequivocal support and active implementation of the program approved by the 15th CPCZ Congress. The RTUM achieved a high level of activity; our entire large organization undertook fruitful work. The examination not only of internal trade union questions but also of problems of work and enterprises and the tasks of the entire society at all (?production) meetings in the speeches of more than a million members in debates characterizes the standard reached in the fulfillment of the role of the trade unions, the importance of trade union activity and the profound democratic nature of the socialist system. [applause]

The fact that over half a million officials were elected in secret ballots at annual meetings, conferences and congresses and the secret election of executive bodies, which is further proof of the trust of members and delegates, confirms the democratic nature of the RTUM and gives authority to all elected bodies and

officials. Workers and members of the intelligentsia, our working people, as the managers of their own country, examined in a responsible fashion past developments, the results of the political, economic, social and cultural development since the 14th party congress and the share of trade unions in their attainment. They proudly acknowledged the results of the work which insured the successful fulfillment of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and a good start into the Sixth Five-Year Plan. They highly assessed the dynamic development of the national economy as a firm foundation for the advance of the entire socialist society. This is most convincingly borne out by the fact that, compared with 1948, the year of victorious February, the national income is over five times higher and industrial production--in which the share of the engineering and chemical industry has substantially increased--will this year increase roughly tenfold.

Likewise, large-scale socialist agricultural production, whose technical and organizational standards are being constantly improved, covers the increase in consumption of foodstuffs which in certain categories ranks among the highest in the world.

The decisive advance in equalizing the economic standards and life of working people in both republics, achieved through fraternal cooperation between the Czech and Slovak nations and all nationalities, strengthens the unity of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. In making this evaluation working people, especially in comparison with crisis manifestations in the capitalist world, realized again that we have been able to achieve such results only under socialism.

Successful economic development has created the resources for the implementation of the far-reaching social program of the 14th party congress, for important measures to further raise the high level of meeting the material, social and intellectual needs of all strata of the population. A significant role in the improvement of the living standard is played by the full employment of the population fit for work. The right to work for every citizen is not only safeguarded by the constitution but also applied in practice. Together with the high degree of economic activity, the rise in the living standards is also influenced by the steady growth of the financial incomes and average wages of the working people.

Last year the average monthly wages of working people throughout the national economy constituted Kcs 2,370. Since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress average monthly wages increased by almost Kcs 300, which is more than envisaged by the plan. Real income of the working people increased on average by 5 percent per annum. The higher incomes were based on a corresponding growth of labor productivity so that the working people receive for their devoted work secure wages in hard currency based on the created values.

The working people appreciate in particular the fact that the economic policy of the party has made it possible to retain the stability of the overall level of retail prices, that by a joint effort of party, state, economic and trade union organs it was possible to cope with the consequences of the rise in world prices and other effects of very complex economic conditions in such a way that they did not fall as a burden on Czechoslovak working people. [applause]

Among the characteristic features of the rising living standard of the working people is the solution of the housing question. More than half the population lives in apartments built since 1948. In the period since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress alone, (7536,280) families moved into new apartments. Rents constitute an incomparably smaller part of the overall financial expenditure of workers' and other working people's households than is the case in capitalist countries. Since the last All-Trade Union Congress the social expenditure of the state rose so that the benefit of the population in social security and sickness insurance alone rose from Kcs 39.7 billion in 1971 to Kcs 55 billion in 1976.

A considerable part of the measures carried out on the basis of the party's social program was aimed at better meeting the needs of families with children. The maternity allowance paid out on the birth of a child has been increased. The payment of the maternity grant has been prolonged and child allowances for big families have been increased. It has been made easier for young people to set up their own households with the introduction of advantageous loans, including a state bonus. This sort of care is among the most comprehensive in the world, and there is nothing comparable in capitalist countries.

Evidence of the socialist society's care for the working man, the main creator of all values, is also the improvement of the pension system, the most significant since the law on national insurance was introduced. Pensions have been adjusted in accordance with the development of wages and adapted to the rising living standard of the working people. The adjustment has considerably improved the position of the over 3 million pensioners and the prospects for a secure retirement for all still in employment.

The network of district and enterprise health service facilities has been considerably expanded. The number of citizens per doctor has significantly dropped, so that we have overtaken even the most advanced capitalist countries. If we add to this that all medical and hospital care as well as medicines are free, it is obvious that Czechoslovak health services rank among the most advanced and most humane in the world. Achievements enriching the life of working people affect not only the material and social sphere but are also eloquently reflected in the richness of spiritual life. In the past few years further possibilities have been provided for working people's access to free education and to all cultural and artistic values of our nations and of world progressive culture, and their active participation in the creation of new cultural wealth has grown through the development of their own creative abilities.

The results achieved prove that the policy of the CPCZ offers firm certainties of life and in practice implements the basic interests of the working class and all toiling people. [applause] While hundreds of millions of people in the capitalist world are seriously affected by the consequences of an insoluble economic and social crisis, in our country every upright person can work without fear about the morrow. If he meets with misfortune, falls sick or grows old he can rely on the care of the entire socialist society. Such inalienable human rights and freedoms, which have become a living norm of the working man in conditions of effective socialism, cannot be offered--let alone guaranteed--by any other social system. They are an important source of the political consolidation and solidity of our society.

Comrades: Why has it been possible to achieve such results in the building of socialism in Czechoslovakia? Above all because the leading role of the CPCZ and the realistic program of the 14th congress, insuring a dynamic development of the society and of its successes. [applause] Second, because this policy of the party, expressing the basic interests and needs of the people, was met on the part of working people with selfless and enterprising work, with the increasingly conscious activity of socialist managers and with specific deeds and the active participation of the RTUM which insured the implementation of all tasks. [applause]

And finally because the decisive factor of success--our membership of the socialist community, and especially our unbreakable alliance with the [words indistinct] cooperation and understanding on the part of the Soviet Union and its working people--has been further strengthened. [applause]

We trade unionists proudly and justifiably acknowledge the results achieved by working people under the leadership of the party. As enjoined by the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, in all activities we have shared in the active participation of millions of people in the fulfillment of the party's policy. We are overjoyed, and are at the same time under an obligation, that the endeavors of trade unionists were at the 30th anniversary of the birth of the RTUM appreciated by the award of a second Order of Klement Gottwald. [applause]

The party appreciates the active support, Comrade Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee said in the report to the 15th congress, which the trade union movement gives its policy. The trade unions contribute in a significant way toward good economic results, they influence the development of a conscientious attitude toward work in people, their responsible attitude toward public property and the establishment of socialist relations among people. They make a significant contribution in the sphere of social policy, comprehensive care for the working people, the protection of their health and the realization of their multifaceted interests. This is what Comrade Husak said. [applause]

Comrades: Detailed information about the results of our work since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress is contained in the presented [word indistinct] report. It follows from it, and all experience proves, that the authority of the trade unions has grown and their position in the political system of the socialist society has become consolidated. The RTUM, by giving unequivocal support to the line and the decisions of the 14th CPCZ Congress and the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, adopting them as the basis of all trade union work, has led to the organization growing stronger from within, increasing its cohesion and developing multifaceted activity. We have strengthened the political and organizational unity of the trade union movement and developed basic trade union functions regarding their unity, comprehensive nature and interdependence. In accordance with the directives of the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, we have succeeded in bringing trade union activity closer to [works activity], in deepening the influence of organization on members and of members on the activity of the RTUM and in strengthening workers' and other working people's faith in their trade union organization. This is also borne out by the considerable increase in

membership. The membership base has over the past 5 years grown by more than 1 million members. Our trade unions today unite 97.3 percent of workers in permanent employment, which means that the task set by the last congress has been exceeded. [applause]

It has been a period filled with extensive and devoted activity which has also made it possible to implement the decisions of the congress in other main directions. At the same time, we are aware of the fact that the undoubted upsurge of trade union work is accompanied by a series of shortcomings and problems and numerous weak points, that we also have many unused resources and reserves. We have been unable by a long way to cope with everything in a way which would do justice to our aspirations. However, even a critical assessment of our activity makes it obvious that the RTUM is today a considerably stronger, more united organization with a greater ability to act which has all the prerequisites to influence the activity and commitment of working people in the decisive spheres of its responsibility on a much larger scale and much more effectively.

Comrades: What was the source of development of the united trade unions and their activity after the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress? To what do we owe it? Above all to the policy of the Communist Party, which has created and is creating extremely favorable conditions for the activity of the trade unions. At the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress, too, in accordance with the experience and views of the members of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement and the numerous trade union activists, we all--nonparty people and communists, members of other political parties--highly appreciate this policy, consider it our own, and are determined by a concentrated effort of millions of trade unionists to implement it consistently. [applause]

Second, we owe it to the Leninist [word indistinct] the great attention and constant help of the party to trade unions and the activity of trade unions. For this approach and help the CPCZ deserves our thanks. [applause]

Third, to the tireless activity of the hundreds of thousands of voluntary officials who have been implementing the set line and have devoted a lot of their efforts and free time to trade union work. It is a pleasure to work in such an aktiv: This is why we can with greater certainty approach more far-reaching and more daring tasks. From the platform of the congress we sincerely thank all these officials. [applause]

Finally, and above all, to the ever growing participation of members in the life of the RTUM and in the fulfillment of its tasks; the preparations for the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress have shown that the number of working people who by their proposals, suggestions and the criticism of shortcomings show their interest in the development and improvement of the standard of trade union work and in the mastering of more responsible and more challenging tasks in the building of an advanced socialist society is increasing. By their pledges and their everyday working deeds they express their close link between the activity to work among members of primary organizations and trade union sections and at places of work, because this is the most important prerequisite for future successes.

Comrades: To win over members and all working people for our common goals and to increase their activity is a constant, never-ending process, marked by the challenging feature of the present tasks. We are convinced that, taking into account the development so far, we have the necessary prerequisites and sufficient strength. Building on previous experience, we will endeavor to insure that the activity of all trade union bodies and organizations expresses the high joint responsibility of the trade union movement for the further prosperity of our socialist homeland, for the happy life of all working people. This is our main aim for the future. All the power of the trade unions for the fulfillment of the goals of the 15th CPCZ Congress, for a happy life for working people. [applause]

In order to achieve this aim we must in the period until the 10th All-Trade Union Congress, deepen and further improve the mass political, educational and organizational work in all primary trade union organizations, in union and all-union bodies, in all union organizations in both republics and throughout the RTUM.

Comrades: Since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, we have unequivocally supported the revolutionary mission of trade unions, stressing the task to fulfill the important role and commitment in the development of a socialist society. Trade union organizations have participated, through their specific forms of activity, in the political activity in the country; they have led working people to political and public activity; they have broadened their participation in the solution of problems of a social nature.

The political role and responsibility of trade unions has been manifested in all important political events in the life of our country. It has been shown in the participation of the [word indistinct] cadre organizational preparation of the elections to representative bodies. It has proved useful that trade union organizations have been expressing their commitment quite specifically in their plans of activity every year, despite the fact that many trade union organizations have not yet fully realized the political responsibility for social tasks and have concentrated only on the partial acceptance of important anniversaries and events.

After the 15th party congress, which placed high demands on the development of society and thus also higher demands on trade union organizations, the social responsibility of trade unions is still increasing. The revolutionary and class nature of our united unions demands a far-reaching, committed political approach to the tasks of the socialist development which will lead to the purposeful implementation of the historic role and creative potential of the working class, to the development of its aware participation in political and public life, to the creation of conditions for the working class to act decisively as a pioneer of everything new and progressive; that is, simply everyday concern about everything that brings our society nearer to the goals of advanced socialism.

This aspect of trade union activity must, after the ninth congress, be applied much more generally, with more determination and very concretely in all spheres of trade union activity. Having learned from experiences, confirmed since the Eighth All-Trade Union Congress, we are determined to fulfill fully this mission.

[word indistinct] also the awareness that one of the principal conditions for the fulfillment of this role is even closer bonds between the activities of trade unions and the program of the 15th CPCZ Congress at all levels, in all spheres and directions of trade union activity.

This relationship between the trade unions and party policy is being reflected daily by discussing and fulfilling the fundamental conclusions of the congresses and [meetings] of the Central Committee, by upholding this policy [the interests of the working class and socialism are involved] daily at all workplaces through the fulfillment of individual tasks. This is reflected in the development of mass initiatives, the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the targets of the plan. Therefrom emerges, too, the resolute reply of trade unionists to the attacks of hostile forces against socialism in Czechoslovakia. [applause]

The firm standpoint of millions of working people, our members, places us under the obligation to proclaim again from the rostrum of the congress for the benefit of all enemies: no pamphlets, charters and other similar fruit of ideological subversion will distract the attention of our people from the fulfillment of the program of the 15th party congress. They cannot belittle the proven successes of socialist building or undermine the trust of working people in the revolutionary line of our country and in the activity of trade unions which always brings proven benefits. [applause]

The period for which we are submitting accounts to the congress confirmed the need for and benefit of cooperation between the RTUM and bodies of the socialist state at all levels and in all spheres, because they have a [common] foundation: to insure the fulfillment of the same policy and together to meet the needs and interests of working people. The relationship of cooperation between the trade unions and the state have become an important part of the development of socialist democracy and have substantially extended the sphere of the multifaceted activity of trade union organizations.

This characteristic aspect is being enhanced in the fulfillment of all joint tasks. It is being reflected in practice among other things, in joint resolutions of the Party Central Committee, the government and the [Presidium] of the Central Council of Trade Unions for the solution of tasks and measures which are of importance to the whole of society. The [viewpoint] of enterprises and plants insures a joint course of economic organs and the trade union organizations [words indistinct]. Both are the reflection of the growth of the role and authority of the RTUM and its share in the solution of all questions affecting the life of working people. We are convinced that the cooperation and relations between trade unions and organs of the socialist state will be further intensified. This also depends on the attitude of state and economic officials--on how far, in harmony with the policy and approach of the party and the state, they fully appreciate the role of trade unions, create conditions for its implementation and reveal a greater interest in cooperation, as is expressed in the labor code and other norms regulating mutual relations.



We expect that, likewise, when trade union organs and officials use the right and the voice of the trade union organization and demand cooperation from economic bodies, they will be aware of their own responsibility and will correctly apply the relations of trade unions to leading economic workers, as trade unionists, too, and will support all their endeavors to meet the interests of the whole of society.

Cooperation between plant committees and national committees in the implementation of election programs manifests itself very specifically. This is a sphere where there is wide scope for trade union organizations' initiative and active work in the interests of the working people. There are trade unionists and trade union organizations virtually everywhere. Therefore we expect that in particular in all sectors of state administration and services they will develop a much more exacting activity, that they will adopt a responsible approach to the solution of all questions which significantly affect the living standard and living conditions and the well-being of the working people.

The RTUM is one of the most important organizations of the national front which represents the broad platform of socialist democracy. It is rightly expected of the trade unions, as the most [?representative] and biggest mass organization uniting the whole of the working class and the majority of other working people, that with a view to the scope of their rights and the responsibility ensuing from them and also due to their considerable experience in mass political and political-organizational work and the over 1-million strong aktiv of officials at their disposal, they will come out with stimulating initiative in the interests of specific solutions to tasks of concern to society as a whole. The trade union organizations, which should be a school of management and administration, are therefore faced with the great responsibility of winning over the working people for active participation in the management of public affairs and state administration, so that every working man and woman by his or her contribution to public political life becomes in the fullest sense of the word a socialist administrator of his country.

The principle emphasized in the report to the 15th congress by Comrade Gustav Husak whereby the broad strata of the people, through democratic institutions and organizations, not only take an active part in the search for and creation of the most effective ways of the development of society but are also the main force in the realization of the set targets and an active agent in the creation, realization and checking of our policy also applies to the RTUM. Herein, as Comrade Husak stressed, lies the fundamental strength of socialist democracy.

In the deepening of the political responsibility of the society as a whole the irreplaceable role of the trade unions in the development of socialist democracy must be carried out more emphatically--this is borne out by experience since the eighth congress. We are aware that we must impart a practical content to all the multifaceted manifestations of this role of the trade unions. We must organize the participation of working people in management and apply trade union control in the given directions concerning society as a whole, in the work of deputies in representative bodies proposed by trade unionists and through the application of legislative initiative. [?Life] and the demanding

tasks make a development of cooperation between trade unions and other public organizations ever more indispensable in the task of jointly resolving the common interests of various groups of working people and thus multiplying and expanding political influence among those who need to be won for socially beneficial activity.

With this aim in mind we will continue by all means to strengthen ties and cooperation, in particular with the Socialist Union of Youth, the Women's Union, the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association, the Science and Technology, Society, and Physical Culture Union, the Red Cross and other organizations--a policy which has proved in the past to have produced fruitful results.

Among important long-term tasks stemming from the internationalist nature of the RTUM and the political responsibility of trade union organs and organizations is the strengthening of fraternal cooperation within the friendly community of the Czech and Slovak nations and citizens of other nationalities enjoying equal rights who live on the territory of our federative state--the united Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. By the whole of our activity we will promote the inseparable cohesion of our nations and the deepening of the process of rapprochement between the working class, collective farmers and intelligentsia as the lasting values of socialism, as the source of the moral-political unity of the Czechoslovak working people which is a strong bulwark against all enemies. [applause]

We are entering a qualitatively more challenging stage which increases the demands of the whole activity of trade unions. And this namely requires that we deepen the complexity of trade union work and constantly strive to insure that all its aspects in their entirety result in the main historical mission of trade unions as the school of socialism for millions of working people. This aim is becoming of still greater importance, and it should be demonstrated even more fully. Our efforts to fulfill the task of the RTUM in the development of a socialist society and the conditions under which we are tackling this task are at the same time an answer to all questions and doubts about the position and role of trade unions under socialism. It is being proved that in Czechoslovakia, too, the situation is the same as was stated by the resolution of the Eighth WFTU Congress in Varna that trade unions of socialist countries have rights and opportunities, responsibilities and freedoms which have never existed before in any other system. People who do not want to see and recognize this cannot give a single example where a trade union organization in a capitalist country has such great authority. [applause]

The development of the political and public responsibility of trade unions is a process inseparably linked with the ever growing scope of trade union activities, their work in all spheres of public life and the need by all means to deepen the influence of our organization among the masses of the working people.

With this awareness we approach the 15th CPCZ Congress decision, which we will resolutely implement in the work of every organization, [?in the fulfillment of all tasks]. In order to achieve this, we will have to fulfill the double task of the trade unions still more resolutely--to strive for the development of the national economy and the growth of production and to evince concern for the rights and interests of the working people, for the conditions of their work and life.

We will still more consistently adhere to the conclusions of the Party Central Committee of February 1972 to the effect that the main and most immediate task of all trade union organs and organizations is the strengthening and development of their basic functions in their unity, interdependence and influence.

#### More on Hoffman's Report

Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 25 May 77 LD

[Excerpts of "Second part" of report delivered to the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress in Prague by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions, on 25 May--recorded]

[Text] Comrades: The 15th CPCZ Congress valued the fact that trade unions played a significant part in the development of the initiatives of working people aimed at the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the plan. The development of socialist competition, the movement of the brigades of socialist labor and of the integrated rationalization brigades, the initiatives of pioneers and heroes of socialist labor, of "one hundred thousand men," [savings movement], of improvers and inventors and other concrete forms of initiative and new exemplary deeds in individual branches and regions have resulted in enormous material and moral values for the society. They made a significant contribution to the fulfillment of the production plan and to raising labor productivity and the efficiency of production, to reducing costs, to savings of raw materials, commodities, fuel and energy, to improving the working and living environment. Likewise, the upsurge of production consultations has become a manifestation of the mass participation of working people in the management of production and fulfillment of the tasks of the plan, in the development of socialist democracy in the sphere of material production. This process developed and intensified a conscious socialist attitude to work, and the participation was extended of workers, technicians and other working people in management, decision making and directing.

It is our duty to draw correct and useful conclusions from the tasks of trade unions as formulated by the 15th party congress, to utilize the experience of the Fifth Five-Year Plan and to direct the development of mass initiatives and socialist competition--especially on questions of economies, efficiency, better quality of products, wider and more effective application of scientific-technical progress and the fulfillment of the tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan. At the same time we will guide our members toward responsible work of good quality, toward the creation of an atmosphere of demanding work and a refusal to accept shortcomings, and toward a strengthening of working and technological discipline.

Comrades: In the report to the 15th congress Comrade Husak stressed that the basic aim of the Sixth Five-Year Plan is to insure, in harmony with an intensification of the socialist way of life, a satisfaction of the growing material and spiritual needs of the people and a further strengthening of their life and social certainties on the basis of high efficiency of social production and

quality of all work. This is a key question, this is the only way forward for all our society, for state and economic bodies and also for the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement [ROH]. The highly humane content of this program, which mobilizes all our people, is resolutely endorsed by the ROH, which is aware of its joint responsibility for its fulfillment. Relentless efforts to achieve a high level of efficiency and quality--this is the substance of our joint responsibility for the economic and social development of our homeland, this is our fighting program.

This pressing demand of the times will be consistently reflected by us in the activities of trade organs and organizations, and we will gain working people for it. We bear in mind that the higher tasks of the Sixth Five-Year Plan are being fulfilled by us in more complicated conditions than in the past period. Since the extensive resources of economic growth have been virtually exhausted, and we cannot reckon with a more significant influx of workers into the national economy, it will be necessary to achieve the planned rates of production growth by means of a 90 percent increase in labor productivity. This will demand a carefully planned rationalization of production processes and a consistent application of scientific-technical progress on a broad basis.

We must reckon with slower increases of energy and raw materials, whose acquisition in world markets is increasingly difficult and more expensive. That is why it is necessary to reduce high material and energy expenditure, taking more care to husband everything--including working time, energetically fighting waste and losses of all kind, working better and managing better. We must achieve the best possible results from every hour worked, from every kilogram of material and every kilowatt of energy, from every Kcs expended on investments, if we want to fulfill the challenging tasks and insure [words indistinct].

In view of the fact that requirements on foreign markets are becoming more stringent, the demands made on the capability of our products, on their quality and technical standards, are rising. Collectives, which are especially affected by these tasks, should concentrate on increasing the efficiency and quality of their work.

The call of the 15th congress to pay increased attention to the consistent fulfillment of the tasks of branches which decide on the progress and dynamism of the entire economy makes it obligatory for trade unions to consider the tasks laid down as the keystone of all their activity. The Sixth Five-Year Plan puts exacting requirements on trade unions and trade unionists in all production and nonproduction branches. This means that trade union work must be directed toward the exploitation of existing resources and must do everything to support the fulfillment of the tasks set. A basic prerequisite of higher efficiency lies in a consistent, smooth and rhythmical fulfillment of the plan. That is why such manifestations as the consistent failure to fulfill the plan--when at the end of a quarter or at the end of a year requires exceptional measures to make good what was lost before--must not be accepted by trade union organizations in enterprises where such things take place. Central committees, ministries and enterprise and plant committees, together with enterprise economic bodies, should devote greater attention to such irregularities in the fulfillment of the plan and immediately analyze them critically, eliminate the causes of shortcomings and give concrete assistance to organizations.

In the struggle for higher efficiency of production, trade unions must devote particular attention to the greater utilization of basic assets and new production lines and enterprises and, especially, of modern efficient machines and equipment, above all in heavy and general engineering and the building industry.

Managing economic bodies are enjoined to elaborate, together with trade unions, a set of measures aimed at stopping the drop in shift rates and at achieving a turn in the current unfavorable development. Our congress must demand resolutely that trade unions and works committees support economic managements in solving this serious problem and that they exert increased pressure where responsibility workers do not reveal sufficient resolution and purposefulness.

Savings and a better processing of fuels, raw materials and commodities, a reduction in their consumption, a better use of metals, chemicals, vehicle fuels and other materials, are all of exceptional importance. The "trade union billion" [a savings movement] therefore acquires a vital new impulse and meaning. A worker, a technician, just like a leading worker, should not be indifferent to the fact that, nationally, it has been proved that it is possible to save considerable quantities of fuel. That there is still considerable room for improvement is borne out by the fact that engineering has the task of making annual savings of 3 to 3-1/2 percent of metals in the Sixth Five-Year Plan.

It is the duty of all trade union organizations to develop the movement for general savings. It is also the duty of those who have not yet sufficiently dealt with this question. We also call on ministries and economic workers to give this useful movement greater and more consistent support, not to allow the results of the good initiative in some enterprises to go to waste because of the lack of economies in others, and to exploit every worthwhile suggestion to save raw materials, commodities and energy.

#### Further Excerpts of Hoffmann Report

Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1300 GMT 25 May 77 LD

["Excerpts" of "Second part" of report delivered to the Ninth All-Trade Union Congress in Prague on 25 May by Karel Hoffmann, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Central Council of Trade Unions]

[Text] Improving the efficiency of production is indissolubly linked with the struggle to improve the quality of all work. The fight for a high quality of products determines how well we do in world competition and also how satisfied our own working people are with the supply of consumer goods. It determines whether we produce items of value which are really up to modern requirements and not goods which lie around unused in storerooms. To often, valuable material as well as precious human labor end up unused in the storerooms, and the wages paid out are not matched by corresponding values reaching the market.

Hundreds of collectives in factories and enterprises in the engineering and metallurgy industry, in the mines and on building sites, in the textile and food industries, in agriculture and other industries are already answering the party call to improve the efficiency of production and the quality of all work. It is an example [word indistinct] of the way in which trade union organizations can purposefully act in this direction, together with economic organs.

This effort requires a well-planned and comprehensive approach, so that improvements in management and the organization of work on scientific principles are combined organically with the use of labor initiative, involving every individual from the design right up to the finished product. It presupposes the utilization of experience, both here and in the Soviet Union, and the implementation of an entire system of concern for quality, starting with the removal of the objective causes of poor quality and going on to provide material and moral incentives and to educate the people to [words indistinct] quality of work at every place of work.

This experience must be disseminated and implemented widely to heighten the influence exerted by trade union organizations on the quality of work at all stages of the production process. Therefore it is necessary to strive toward making high quality a principle, a norm, a criterion of the socialist consciousness of the individual and every collective and insure that it is accepted as the general level of trade union work. To insure that the effort to improve the efficiency and quality of all work does in fact become the militant program of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the trade union must analyze in detail the difficult tasks that are connected with this effort. After this analysis they must encourage and direct in the most specific terms the activity of the factory committees, the primary trade union organizations and all working people. They must organize help at these levels wherever it is needed.

The exacting demands made by this five-year plan, and the need to master its most significant requirements--efficiency and quality--have brought about an exceptional increase in the importance of the role played by socialist competition as the main contribution the trade unions and working people can make to achieving this objective, which is at the same time economic and extremely political in nature.

These new requirements are incompatible with old methods, so we must use all successes and contributions to develop further the initiative, and active participation of the working people in production management, in the utilization of the considerable reserves that exist and in the solution of various shortcomings and problems. In our future work we must proceed from the assumption that the initiative of the working people to date is far from being orientated in all factories toward the principal problems of the economy, that it does not respond to the determinant requirement for quality, and that in a number of cases the initiative suffers from formalism. All trade union organizations should strive to insure that the economic management outlines specific assignments for competition, and entire trade unions should do the same in their collaboration with ministries and the general administrations within the framework of industries and branches of industry.

Many trade union organizations put up with shortcomings, breakdowns and time losses caused by the imperfect organizations of the productive processes [word indistinct] assignments are not set out specifically in terms of every place of work. They are often too generous when they check the completion of the pledges undertaken, and not even the public inspection linked with checks on the completion of the plan and collective agreement [word indistinct]. If this were

not the case, it would be impossible that--despite the great number of proclaimed pledges--the plan is completed only by taking emergency action or by working a lot of overtime, or in some cases is not even fulfilled at all.

Just as the fact that pledges undertaken by entire factories which are not backed up by pledges undertaken by labor collectives and individuals contributes to formalism, this situation weakens the meaning and purpose of competition and acts against genuine participation by working people in competition and management.

The trade union bodies, jointly with the economic personnel, are responsible for insuring that enthusiasm and initiative are displayed not only in emergency situations, but on a permanent basis and in the performance of daily tasks. When working people can see that their initiative is correctly directed and that it is valued and brings results, this increases their interest and responsibility for good results in the work of the entire collective.

In their specialist pledge, every member of staff and every collective should express its own contribution to insuring the completion of all aspects of the plan's assignments, and trade union organizations should devote greater attention to uniting the forces of workers, engineering, technical and scientific staff, as well as brigades, factories and enterprises. The wide popularization of the best experience is a vital precondition for the expansion and improvement of socialist competition. Greater scope should be given to positive examples, they should be properly assessed and supported. It should be insured that working people are acquainted with the meaning, essence and goal of the most progressive examples from Czechoslovakia and the USSR. We will make greater efforts to disseminate primarily those examples which purposely aim at the key problems of the five-year plan in the attempt to persuade every member of staff to follow the well-tested initiative.

In cooperation with the Socialist Youth Union we will devote particular attention to developing the creative initiative of the younger generation. According to the examples provided by the Soviet trade unions we should also give some thought to the way in which we might organize competition between productive economic units and their individual members, between the collectives of coordinated enterprises. We should also give thought to how, by using pledges which have proved right in the case of certain large capital projects, we can insure deliveries to industry on schedule and complete pledges within the framework of relations between supplier and client.

It is with gratification that we hail the enterprise of the collective, which has been given material impetus by the 60th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and which has prepared a creative atmosphere for our congress. It is pleasant that an increasing number of pledges provide a new and more effective direction to this activity; they reflect the most important and the most essential elements of socialist competition. The effort toward economy, efficiency, and an improvement in the quality of products bears testimony to the more effective implementation of the results of scientific and technological progress, and the completion of all the tasks of the Sixty Five-Year Plan.

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

SECRET INTERVIEWS WITH CHARTER 77 SIGNATORIES

Milan EPOCA in Italian No 1386, 27 Apr 77 pp 28-35

[Article by Loly Clerc and Brigitte Lacombe: "Prague Raises Its Voice"]

[Text] The promoters of Charter 77, the manifesto of Czechoslovak dissent, talk for the first time in this exceptional investigation, conducted clandestinely. Who are they? How do they live? What objectives do the leaders of the movement intend to achieve?

Prague, April--Jinka, 30 years old, was among the first 440 signatories of the charter. She lives in an old apartment along the Vltava River. Three large rooms that have seen better days and that she shares with her parents, her husband, Jiri, and with her 4-year-old son. Jinka is not one of the inspirers of the charter and she is not even a member of the group of intellectuals, professors, writers, psychologists, and so on, who signed the document. She was a secretary in a large foodstuffs company in the capital. Hers is an exemplary case of the situation of the Czech dissidents. She talks about it with a tired, almost indifferent, air, without complaining.

"Since the time when I finished school, in 1968, I had never engaged in political activity, but the Charter 77 seemed to me to reveal a new state of mind and also a way to show the condition of oppression in which many people are. An oppression barely conscious at times. To make a long story short, I signed, because it agreed with all that I thought and felt." Jinka has been interrogated twice since she signed the document. On 15 February, she received a letter from the manager of the business in which she worked. "You no longer conform with the economic-technical criteria required by your job," the letter says. "For that reason, you are transferred to another job: an unskilled worker in the processing laboratories." Not even a mention of Charter 77.

The new job starts at 0600 hours. Jinka has to travel 2 hours and a half on public transportation. The day nursery where she takes her son is half an hour from her house, in the opposite direction, and it opens at 0600 hours. Jinka has appealed against this decision, but without results. She has entrusted her case to an attorney. "The case is hopeless," she says, "and



I shall be compelled to look for other work, always below the level of my capability, however. But I want to fight, because this dismissal is a violation of our labor code."

The signatories of Charter 77 now number rather more than the 440 who signed it originally. All know, without exception, that the threat of repression hangs over them. They will not end up in prison, but they know that they will run up against dismissals, cutting off of their telephones, withdrawal of driver's licenses if not altogether their identity documents. Serious measures to which close surveillance is added in many cases. Quibbling daily repression has taken some signatories by surprise and has given rise to an atmosphere of distress and fear that is weighing heavily on Prague.

On the eastern periphery of the city, Jiri Hajek, historian, former diplomat, national minister of education under Novotny, minister of foreign affairs at the time of the "Prague Spring" lives in a small country dwelling just like the rest. He was put on a pension in 1972 "as a veteran." Hajek agreed to be the official spokesman of the charter, together with Prof Jan Patocka, who died after a long interrogation by the police. Hajek is under residential surveillance, at present, in his dwelling. He was attacked by an unknown who sprayed his face with a tear gas vaporizer that is not found on sale in all Czechoslovakia.

Who was that unknown? It is up to the police to answer this question. When we met him, Jiri Hajek explained to us that the charter is a call for respect for the laws in the Czechoslovak civil code. And then why this charter? "Because Czechoslovakia has been deep in a repressive silence since 1972. The children of persons active during the "Prague Spring" cannot pursue their studies normally. Their parents are often excluded from the jobs to which they would have been entitled on the basis of their educational degrees. If Czechoslovakia intends to respect the Helsinki Agreements, it cannot continue on this course. The charter is presented as a call for reconciliation and for dialogue. It is always possible to improve a country's standard of living, to offer everyone a decent position, but, in the long run, the time always comes when all that is not enough, if the citizens are not assured of sufficient guarantees of individual freedoms and freedom of expression."

Jiri Hajek prefers to remain silent on the origins of the charter, on its real authors, for reasons of security. "It was a question of a collective initiative, decided on in the autumn of 1976. It is the result of a meeting of several groups and of individuals coming from every political sector: communists expelled from the party, socialists, Catholics, simple citizens in their first political demonstration."

Prof Jan Patocka also lived on the periphery, behind the Castle, on a hill, in a small wooden house in which he occupied two rooms: a bedroom, a study. Professor Patocka's house is easy to watch. When the case of Charter 77 exploded, in front of his dwelling there was always -- or almost always, because fortunately surveillance also has its gaps -- a stopped car or a student who

had completed his course requirements walking back and forth and whom we found later in the STB [State Security] (Czech equivalent of the KGB, the Soviet political police), in the uniform of one of the policemen charged with interrogating us.

Professor Patocka received us twice before he died. When he was convalescing from a bad attack of influenza, he was very anxious to see us. "I know the risks to which I am exposing myself by telling you that we are living at present in a police state, but I say it all the same. Perhaps, it is a question of a reality obvious to everyone, but it must be said and repeated." According to the professor, the loss of freedom causes, in turn, a loss of the very notion of responsibility. "We are living in a system based on fear and envy," he said. "Fear makes everyone never dare expose himself. Envy drives every citizen to perform any act whatsoever, in order to obtain, not power, but the honors and privileges that it confers. Let us give an example: the Academy of Letters. Culture has nothing to do with this institution. It is a question of an empty organization. There are only a few puppets there, puffed up with envy and ready for anything, in order to take the place of the rest. That is how our perverse system handles those who accept it."

After our second talk, Professor Patocka was interrogated by the police several times. His heart did not hold up, however, in the state of exhaustion produced in his frail person by the police persecution. Two science students told us that they were warned against signing the charter. "They will obstruct your studies," one of their teachers told them. "And you can make yourselves useful in another way." Both preferred to run this risk. They distributed the charter everywhere. Later, we learned that one of them had been arrested and then released.

Thus, the list of signatories grows longer every day. The charter was shown to us in the home of a dissident. For the sake of prudence, it is kept for a short time, in turns, and everyone calculates the risks precisely. The number and cultural level of those who have signed are impressive. Everything that inspired Czechoslovakia's intellectual and political activity and that was swept away by the Stalinist restoration, in August 1969 [sic; should read 1968] lives again in the charter: professors, researchers, writers, translators, also students and workers. The workers -- not intellectuals transformed into workers by the authorities -- number 80 out of 440. It is a low figure, but two reasons explain this fact. The movement launched by the charter was promoted by a group of intellectuals and a network of more extensive contacts was needed to involve the workers in it.

Nevertheless, there also are few students inclined to join the movement. One evening, we met four students in the home of a married couple of young sociology graduates: a large, comfortable apartment. A car, a "decent wage." Jiri and Hinka (29 and 28 years old; two children) have just finished university work. He works in the office of the personnel manager of a cable company. She has been a housewife up to now. They admit that they are privileged, like the four students whom we saw in their home. At any rate, they display a discouragement bordering on despair. Their only hope is to emigrate,

however they, too, have signed. "It is the only way to state my opposition to the regime," Jiri said. Up to now, they have had no trouble with the police. "Although we are not subjected to discrimination, we have been prisoners of the regime since childhood. In school, a complicated marking system -- that evaluates our parents as well as us -- grants or rejects passing to the next higher grade. With regard to the university...."

The four students spoke up, mentioning without any order the elimination of some subjects (including sociology, for the last 2 years), a list of books on the index and a questionnaire to fill out every year, a kind of self-accusation containing questions like the following: "Is your family of peasant, worker or intellectual origin? Where do your parents, your brothers and sisters live? In what environment?" Then, every questionnaire is checked accurately.

The resentment of the young persons against their parents explodes sometimes in an intolerable situation like this. One of the students, a sympathizer with the charter, but who has not wished to sign it, told me clearly: "On the list, you will find only people of the generation of 1968, or almost. Precisely all of them are on it. But they are the ones who brought us to this disastrous situation. Now what do they want? Many of them had joined the Communist Party during the Stalinist trials. Pavel Kohout wrote poems praising Stalin. Zdenek Mlinar, a member of the Political Bureau in 1968, has been in the party since 1945. Imagine how many things he has seen and at what price?"

Tomas, 26 years old, who recopies the charter every night to distribute it, specified: "Sixty thousand persons have emigrated. At least 400,000 more have been expelled from the party. The impression is had that little by little the country is losing its intelligentsia, its vitality, and that everything possible has been done so that this may happen. Look at motion pictures: Nemec, Forman gone abroad; Schorm, reduced to silence; Menzel directed an uninteresting comedy, "The House in the Forest," after having made his self-criticism. The same problem in the field of literature. The writers are reduced to silence; the translators, the same. A new edition of Joyce was prohibited some time ago. The same is taking place in the field of painting." Tomas, on the other hand, does not want to emigrate. "My country is involved. It cannot go on like this. Go find Havel," they told us. "He will talk to you about all this better than I."

Vaclav Havel, 40 years old, a writer, was one of the idols of the "Prague Spring." His courtesy, his legendary gaiety had turned his home into a center in which people met on weekends to discuss, to exchange ideas. Today, he is in prison, "kept under sight surveillance," the authorities say, "for activities contrary to the security of the state." Olga Havel, his wife, has been waiting in her apartment in Prague since 6 January to be able to see him. He has written two letters, full of humorism, to her. "Make yourself beautiful. Go to the hairdresser and especially, believe me, here where I am, I have little possibility for sowing my wild oats."

"He was arrested," Olga said, "after 4 days of interrogations. A police officer came to pick him up early in the morning, stating that he had not found him the day before. I telephoned at midnight. "We are holding him for tonight. You will learn more about it tomorrow." At the time at which we are writing, Havel is still in prison. Why precisely he, together with four other signatories? And why this long detention? Those are questions to which an answer has never been given in today's Prague. The STB does not conceal the fact that it is above the laws. Vaclav Havel had already indicated his opposition in an open letter to the party secretary, Gustav Husak, in which he denounced fear raised up to a system of government, fear that imposes silence, "that impels the teacher to tell his students stupid things in which he does not believe, that drives people to make absurd self-criticisms, fear that humiliates and scoffs."

Charter 77 attempts, precisely, to be a rejection of fear and the beginning of something different. But is that possible without the participation of the masses of the people? Czechoslovakia is only now entering the era of consumer goods. In 1967, there were lines as early as 0700 hours in front of food stores. At 1100 hours, everything was sold out. A man's suit cost close to the equivalent of 1 month's wages; a pair of shoes, half that. Today, in this respect, the situation is rather better. The average wage is 2,400 koruna (a little more than 200,000 lire). A suit costs 300 koruna; a pair of shoes, from 50 to 60. Rents and transportation cost very little. Foodstuffs still account for the highest expenditure. Moreover, Czech cuisine has little variety, always goulash, pork and salt meat. The monotony of the dishes forms the theme of a song by the Plastic People, a pop group condemned for "obscurity, nihilism, anarchy and religious feeling." Actually, the group limited itself to giving a critical, humoristic picture of Czechoslovak everyday life. The direct beneficiaries of the improvement in the standard of living are the workers who make up the strength of the party. We repeat that only 80 signed the charter. But its importance does not escape the workers. The proof lies in the fact that, in Prague, in the CKD plants, one of the largest Czech industries, only 20 workers agreed to sign the "anticharter" promoted by the authorities. In Pilzen, in the Skoda and Ostrov plants, the workers refused to sign any document whatsoever, before having a look at the real charter. In view of this stand, the authorities abandoned promoting signing of the "anticharter" in the other plants in the area. Isolated, but also revealing, cases are being pointed out. A 22-year-old worker in Teplice wrote a letter of protest to a local newspaper against a diffamatory article concerning the charter, also requesting publication of the document "in order to be able to judge." He was immediately dismissed from the plant and his father, an influential member of the local party section, even chased him out the house. Rudolf Slanski, an electronics engineer, dismissed five times from his job, at present an unskilled laborer in a building cooperative, told us: "One thing can be said with certainty: these spontaneous reactions form a tremor, a coming into awareness by the public."

And what about the others? The civil servants, the members of the liberal professions, the white-collar workers? One evening, at supper in the home

of a couple who signed the charter, there were an architect and his wife. The owner of the house had told us: "Do not say that you are newsmen. The thing makes them afraid. They have not signed and want no trouble. We continue to visit each other, because we are intimate friends. An act of courage is already involved for them." Toward the end of the supper, with the help of white wine, the atmosphere, a bit diffident at the start, became more relaxed and we talked about the charter. The architect was indignant. "Why did you both sign? You had interesting work, never any trouble. What have you gained with the police by signing? No more work, no more trips abroad, and no car as soon as they took your driver's license from you!" The other two smiled and shook their head. "It had to be done, if not for us, at least for our children." "For the children. Fine! Have you not told me, perhaps, that one of your daughters has been threatened to be failed, because you have signed?" After the guests had left, there was a long silence. "The problem with this charter is that relations between friends, in the family and between couples are also ruined," our friend said sadly.

"At times, on the other hand, we are surprised by the reactions of the public," a translator present at the supper, said. "They have not taken away my driver's license, but they asked me for an inspection of the car. I had a damaged fender and I knew that this would be enough to have my license taken away. I went to a garage on the outskirts. The body repairman asked for a week. 'In 48 hours, please,' I begged. The other man looked at me and asked me in a low voice: 'Is it for the charter?' When I answered affirmatively, he added: 'It will be ready tomorrow.' On the next day, the work was performed and he did not even want to be paid."

The deep conviction of the cause that they are defending is keen among the signatories. Perhaps this certainty is what helps them hold out against the daily harassments by the authorities. Harassments that, in some cases, border on persecution, as in the case of the writer Ludwik Vaculik. Silence is golden in his home. The apartment is full of microphones. He lives in three rooms in the modern part of Prague, east of the Castle. A policeman is on watch almost constantly in front of his house. His telephone has been cut off. His wife works as a hostess in a social center. One of his sons is in France. He cannot reenter, because he was threatened with 9 months in prison as soon as he did not return to his country when the authorities recalled him. His youngest son, who wanted to study mathematics and physics, is working at present as a mechanic. In spite of his excellent marks, he was not accepted in the university. Ludwik Vaculik received us at the entrance to his home with a finger on his lips. We turned on the radio very loud to cover the sound of the camera. We communicated in silence by means of notes. Later, we met in a cafe to talk. Vaculik is a member of the group concerned with underground publications called, with an approximate translation, "publications without a padlock." In 4 years, 80 works of forbidden authors have been published: novels, poems, essays. Paradoxically, everything takes place legally. According to the law, every author can keep 20 copies of a manuscript at home that he can lend to friends, who, in turn, can lend them to others and so on.

Ludwik Vaculik believes in the human side of socialism. With regard to himself, he does not know what to think. He says: "Hope? Hope?". His tone is very tired. He is an exhausted man, weakened by this war of nerves. And he actually thinks about only one thing: "To hold out and to lead a normal life, in spite of everything. Not to lose the sense of humor characteristic of this country."

A marriage between two signatories may also be occasion for a large celebration. She is a student of oriental languages; he washes windows through free personal choice, something that makes him doubly suspect in the eyes of the authorities. Since she was already living with him, she was arrested -- after signing -- under the accusation of prostitution. She was held for 15 days in a hospital ward for venereal diseases, where she was under constant surveillance. The party was held in the backroom of a small cafe on the ground floor of a house being remodeled. There were around 100 persons. The average age ranged from 30 to 35 years. They were all signatories or sympathizers. Beer flowed. Someone had a guitar, Gradually, the songs were sung in chorus.

The charter is not being signed only to give a proof of courage. Since this gesture practically excludes from many normal activities of active life, it is necessary to know how to give them up, if one knows how to make oneself useful in some other way. "Giving moral judgments must be avoided," Karel Vartosek, a historian, now bricklayer, says. "You may be amazed by some signatures that are missing from the charter and certain others that are, instead, on the anti-charter. Many actors and producers have signed the anticharter. They were reduced to silence for some time. Their signature was bought, exchanged for a job. If the promises are kept, it will be possible to find again almost forgotten values, in the theater, in motion pictures, in the publishing business. This, too, is important. Other ideas can pass through these values."

During the wedding, the participants profit from the opportunity to exchange information. It is learned in this way that the movement is slowly going out of the walls of Prague to reach all Bohemia. A physicist was arrested in the north. He had in his possession a literary newspaper, the LITERARY LISTY, published abroad, and the text of the charter. Around the tables were the former director of an art gallery and a poet, now employed in the drinking water company; a painter serving as a manual worker, a Protestant pastor and his wife. Later, we met others at a birthday party. We were struck, and we said so, by the amount of alcohol imbibed. "Imagine being reduced to silence, to unemployment, under surveillance, subjected regularly to interrogations," a psychologist pointed out. "Do you believe that you would not go on a binge every so often?"

Since 1968, The rate of alcoholism and of nervous breakdowns has increased appreciably. There are no figures, but these phenomena seem undeniable to psychologists. The same is true of suicides. It is impressive to observe that the phenomenon concerns every stratum of society and not only the intellectuals. Jan, a naive painter 28 years old, looked at us ironically: "Foreigners come to this country as they go to the zoo. They look at us with the interest displayed for animals in a cage. They get a thrill knowing that we

are under surveillance. They return home greatly excited by their contacts with dissidence."

"Then, why did you sign the charter? You could have emigrated first."

"It was a spontaneous gesture. I wanted to do it. With regard to going away, why? This is my country, my world. I have found my roots and my work here. Anywhere else, I would only be one more exile." The same thing was told us by Pavel Kohout, by Vaclav Javel, to whom the authorities offered a "transfer." On the other hand, those who would want to go away (like a professor of philosophy who prefers no mention of his name) do not obtain authorization. Jiri Kolar, a painter and poet, whose works were exhibited in the Guggenheim Museum, in New York, in 1972, can no longer take trips. He received us in his small apartment and showed us his latest collages, full of humorism and delicacy. He, too, has signed. This means the end of trips abroad. "I did it, because it seemed natural to me. It is absurd for them to prohibit me from traveling now. I have no desire to go away, but I must meet people, compare my work with that of others. By closing the borders, this country will die gradually of suffocation."

"This perverse system," Professor Patocka said, "can only destroy itself, since it is becoming devoid of any sense. It is now functioning uselessly. Never forget that Kafka was born in Prague."

But, then, there really is no hope? Hope from within or from abroad? Opinions are divided. Rudolf Slanski was 17 years old when his father, a former party secretary, was executed by hanging, in 1952, accused of plotting. In spite of all that he has gone through, he believes firmly in the coming of "another socialism." He says that "capitalism may lead to Chile and socialism may be perverted in the same way. It is a problem of men and of economic and political data. It must not be forgotten that Czechoslovakia was a developed country when Clement Gottwald organized the seizure of power -- without violence -- by the communists, in 1948. The establishment of the system came about stupidly in accordance with the Soviet plan. Hence, a downgrading and serious economic difficulties. A new course, quite similar to the one attempted by Janos Kadar, in Hungary, has been attempted since 1968 and has been partly successful in the economic field. With the difference that Kadarization was followed by an attempt at liberalization. Here, the opposite is happening. In 1968, in 1969, until 1970-1971, the authorities did not want to exert excessively strong pressure. Then, after 1972, pressure was put on strongly and is still being applied. Many expulsions from the party took place in 1972. Many students were chased out of the university in 1972. At the same time, our ties with CEMA, the common market in the East, have been becoming more and more close. Russia supplies us with 95 percent of natural gas and oil. Many raw materials come from Poland or from East Germany. Hence, so great an economic dependency that at present, if there were another 1968, it would suffice for the Russians to shut the valves of the pipelines to bring us to our knees."

This is also the opinion of Jiri Hajek, who places his hope in détente between East and West. "If you look at Czechoslovakia on the map, you see that it is the very tip of the Eastern countries. It is a strategic position that the Soviet Union cannot lose from sight. It will become less weighty, if détente makes progress." That is why, here, they all follow the slightest move by the new American president, Carter. His letter to Sakharov was a happy surprise, but it also gave rise to some concern. What will the reaction of "big brother" be?

"Big brother" is discreet but present, in Czechoslovakia. It seems that the Russian Embassy houses about 2,000 persons (in a country with 14 million inhabitants) and "Soviet advisers" are said to be assisting the Czechoslovaks in every command and in the communications centers. With regard to Russian troops, they probably far exceed the official figure of 60,000 men. They are not seen in Prague, but it suffices to travel in the countryside to run across heavy convoys, to come upon strange prefabricated villages that have no name, that do not appear on the maps and that have to be traversed without stopping. In passing through, there is time to note that the stores have signs in Cyrillic characters. It is a firmly established temporary world.

In the opinion of Karel Bartosek, hope also comes from within. He has extremely discreet contacts with influential members of the party. He learned recently that, during a top-level meeting of the Communist Party of the Prague region, one of the officials present pointed out at length that discrimination in the schools and universities against the children of expelled or dissident members was awkward and often excessive. Another added that the publication of the anticharter and the publicity made of it was a great mistake. The people had become curious to become familiar with the text of the charter. These are all indications that a certain amount of uneasiness has entered the party and that a soft trend ("let us not make martyrs, let us not exaggerate the misdeeds of the charter") is in opposition to a hardline trend ready to crush any wild aspiration to dissent. According to the opinion of many dissidents, it will be up to Moscow, made rather nervous by the clamor raised around the charter, to decide. But which way?

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FRG COMMENTARY ON STATUS OF GDR CHURCH LIFE

Church-State Relations

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 10 No 5, May 77 signed to press  
25 Apr 77 pp 449-451

[Article by Gisela Helwig: "The Church in Socialism"]

[Text] Bishop Hans-Joachim Fraenkel has launched an appeal to all Christians in the Gdr. At the provincial Synod of the Evangelical Church in Goerlitz he challenged them to demonstrate the courage of their convictions and overcome the resignation stemming from their negative experiences. As the state guarantees freedom of conscience and religion and in Helsinki affirmed human rights--including those of individuals--it must be taken at its word. That does not apply only to education but to all sectors of social life. To the objection that the government assurances are no more than waste paper the bishop retorted that no Christian has the right to help create a climate of fear which defames the country of his citizenship. The bishop termed ungodly the attitude "I cannot live here."<sup>1</sup> "Even in our society God has not ceased to be with us and to do good to us," Fraenkel emphasized and called on Christians in every case to draw the distinction where they can make their proper contribution in responsible cooperation for the benefit of all, and where they must refuse ideological demands as running counter to the gospel.

Bishop Fraenkel did not, however, confine himself to calling to task the members of the Protestant congregations. Practicing autocriticism he deplored the "distressing gulf" between the base and the leadership of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR. He recalled reproaches and accusations which had long festered and erupted last year after the self-immolation of Zeitz Pastor Bruesewitz.

In recent months the profound unease, until then felt in the background, has surfaced and become articulate in criticism of Church leadership organizations. The scope and acerbity of this criticism are quite alarming.<sup>2</sup> Two aspects are particularly notable: Senior Church representatives are accused of opportunist approaches to negotiations and talks with government

agencies; they are also accused of insufficiently informing the congregations and, for their part, lacking adequate information about the problems at the base. Ministers and members of the congregations feel themselves left out, excluded from the dialog between Church and state. Many members resign because on their own they feel unable to cope with the challenge of an atheist environment.

In a recent interview Bishop Schoenherr, chairman of the GDR Federation of Churches, said: "We are bound to admit a decline of alarming proportions."<sup>3</sup> The government claims that only some 10 percent of the GDR population are still Christians. The bishop considered that figure too low but continued "I do not think that we have yet reached our nadir." It will largely depend on the Church leadership whether this process of erosion can be halted. They will have to make greater efforts to establish a Church-internal dialog and reveal more of their contacts with state organs.

To be classified in this context are the attempts more precisely to define the Church's attitude. In 1971 a definition was formulated in Eisenach: "We do not want to be the Church against socialism, nor the Church beside socialism but the Church in socialism" This is so vague as to invite misinterpretation. Bishop Schoenherr has now quite unambiguously declared that it is certainly not a matter of being the "Church for socialism" because the Church has its biblical message and must not be identified with a political system. He wants to have the Eisenach formula interpreted "in the meaning of a genuine presence: That the Church takes a stand on the problems confronting people here; that, in its capacity as collaborator in this society, it says yes where that is possible and no where that is necessary."<sup>4</sup> Bishop Fraenkel also wants a Church which explores the scope for action, maps out guidelines to help the Christian find his yes and no. The Church "in socialism but neither subordinated to it nor of its spirit"--such a self-appraisal includes the readiness in principle to talk with representatives of the state and use the opportunities offered," so said the bishop in his address to the Goerlitz Synod.

In Goerlitz Fraenkel offered an example for the required improvement in the flow of information within the Church by discussing quite exhaustively the talks lately held between representatives of Church and state. The bishop said that the Helsinki declarations had left their mark. The talks had emphasized "respect for the convictions of the others" and provided an opportunity "while maintaining the respective identity and based on the respective basic convictions, to illuminate actions and decisions." While considerable differences of opinion persisted, it would be possible to speak freely without need for anticipating any adverse consequences. Nevertheless Fraenkel reminded his listeners that, for the sake of the cause it was necessary always carefully to consider what should be made public and what kept confidential. On the other hand he gave it as his opinion that "the limits of the freedom of speech could be wider than they are now, without endangering the security of the state." There is, he said, a common responsibility of state and Church "for the truthfulness of all members of society."

The mass media could provide not inconsiderable assistance "if they were to rid themselves of undue concern for our loyalty as citizens and would, in principle and as a general rule, let us know even the less pleasant true facts." In this connection Fraenkel expressed his appreciation that the GDR press last June published all speeches delivered at the East Berlin communist conference. That had been an audacious venture but, the bishop emphasized, "precisely this audacity bestows legitimacy on the party's claim to leadership as a genuine authority delivering freedom and independence, something which is entirely in conformity with the Helsinki resolutions."

Bishop Fraenkel provided two remarkable indications on the topic of the current dialog between state and Church. They concern freedom of conscience and belief as well as the question of human rights generally.

Fraenkel considers that there is an opportunity for some relief in the sector of education where fundamental conflicts have always been particularly acute. In evidence he quoted the remarks made by Hans Seigewasser, state secretary for religious matters, in a recent discussion in Dresden. There Seigewasser outlined "an important distinction" by describing the school's function as that of providing knowledge of Marxism-Leninism, nor demanding allegiance to it." While this does not quite put an end to the tension between Christian doctrine and government educational aims, it does alleviate the problem because this educational goal is thus limited by the freedom of conscience and belief with respect to its potential enforcement. It would, however, be indispensable, said the bishop, "for respect for the convictions of others, such as we are meeting at leadership level in meetings with representatives of our government, to become a ubiquitous element characterizing the spirit prevailing in all schools--and this applies to the relationship of teachers to students as well as to that between students." It would exclude attempts to persuade parents to withdraw children from religious instruction or the preparation for Confirmation, and would also abandon such "class collective resolutions as fail to consider the freedom of conscience." There would soon be an opportunity for finding out how seriously the state is committed to a certain modification of its educational policy: In the course of a discussion on basic problems, which has long been called for by the Church and is now at last to take place.<sup>5</sup>

In their discussions with representatives of the state the GDR Church leadership organizations are also taking the opportunity to explain their standpoint concerning sociopolitical affairs beyond the range of immediate religious interests. At a discussion on the topic "Unity of Economic and Social Policy," for example, they presented their views on the relation between social and individual human rights and pointed out the danger "that the individual citizen might be considered only in the social context, no longer as an individual with individual needs and rights."<sup>6</sup> It is quite remarkable that "the lecturer"--his identity is not disclosed--indicated "that this danger is recognized by the state" and that "in future greater efforts will be made to maintain scope for the individual." As an example he quoted the decision for giving permission in future for churches to be built in new

housing areas--an argument that loses a great deal of impact given the background to this decision,<sup>7</sup>

In the debate about human rights the GDR Evangelical Church has repeatedly made its attitude quite clear. At the same time it forebore so far publicly to accuse the state of certain offenses against human rights. In his Goerlitz address Bishop Fraenkel provided the motive for this reserve by explaining why he had not responded to the request to range himself at the side of the writers and artists protesting Wolf Biermann's expulsion:

"Knowing that serious questions have arisen here, which cannot be dealt with by administrative fiat but require a dialog, I did not feel able to respond to the request. My reasons were as follows: Such a step would inevitably have produced the impression in the government that a common front had been made by the Church, dissident writers and artists. Once such an impression was conveyed, quite serious factual matters would take on the aspect of a challenge exclusively to the state power. Once this happened any possibility would have been blocked for the state leadership to engage in the dialog--which I hold to be entirely desirable--with the respective writers and artists."

This standpoint deserves consideration for two reasons. On the one hand the bishop, fully appreciating that it is his function to be a mediator not a judge, accepts the risk that, once again, he may be accused of "pussy-footing" on the issue. On the other--and that must be the more significant aspect--his attitude reflects the fact that the Church feels an obligation not only to its members but, in the spirit of critical solidarity, to society as a whole.

Misunderstandings, suspicions and applause from the wrong quarters cannot be excluded. The representatives of the Evangelical Church in the GDR will have to continue to live with the knowledge that, depending on the situation and the standpoint of their critics, they will be accused of being opportunists or opponents. For outside observers it is so difficult to appreciate the specific motives of their actions: That, in the interest of the Church, they must make every effort to keep their comments in a low key.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. This and all subsequent quotes from Bishop Fraenkel are taken from his report to the Third Regular Meeting of the Seventh Provincial Synod of the Evangelical Church in the Goerlitz Ecclesiastical Region, held 25/26 March 1977 (mimeographed manuscript).
2. See "Church in Socialism--Materials on Developments in the GDR," No 6/1976.
3. See "Being a Christian in the GDR--Conversation with East Berlin Bishop D.Albrecht Schoenherr," EVANGELISCHE KOMMENTARE, No 3/1977.

4. Ibid.
5. In mid-April Dean Winter told the regional Synod of the Evangelical Church of Berlin-Brandenburg that such a talk was planned for early May. See FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 18 April 1977, p 5.
6. As before (note 1).
7. See Manfred Hoellen's article in this issue, pp 466 ff.

#### Church Building Program

Cologne DEUTSCHLAND ARCHIV in German Vol 10 No 5, May 77 signed to press 25 Apr 77 pp 466-469

[Article by Martin Hoellen, former staff member of Catholic News Agency, Berlin: "GDR New Housing Areas Also To Include Churches in the Future"]

[Text] In 1976 press and public showed particular interest in the Churches in the GDR. The Ninth SED Congress and its new program, the self-immolation of Pastor Bruesewitz, Biermann's appearance in a Prenzlau church, the Evangelical Church Congress in Halle, the Vatican's elevation of the GDR Catholic episcopate to an independent "Berlin Conference of Bishops" provided headlines--in addition to the continuing debate on human rights and the anterior effects of the KSZE [Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe] follow-up meeting in Belgrade. Compared to the publicity enjoyed by the above matters, another aspect of Church life in the GDR received no more than cursory acknowledgment in the West: The first and second special construction programs negotiated between state and Church.

In the summer of 1976 Hanse Seigewasser (SED), GDR state secretary for religious affairs, invited various churchmen to meet him in separate encounters which were (a notable event) attended also by Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Eastern CDU (and at that time still president of the People's Chamber). At these meetings Seigewasser informed the churchmen of the long-term prospects for churches in new housing areas. Until now no official communique has been issued about these meetings which were attended on behalf of the Protestants by East Berlin Bishop Schoenherr, chairman of the Federation of Evangelical Churches, on behalf of the Catholics only by representative of the bishops. On 1 July 1976, at a meeting of the Rostock congregation,<sup>1</sup> Bishop Schoenherr provided information about the government's offer and commented that this might facilitate the solution of a basic problem of GDR Churches, that is the establishment of congregations in new housing areas. The first official confirmation that the construction programs are in fact on the way to implementation came from Reinhard Henkys, head of the West Berlin Evangelical Publication Center in the Evangelical BERLINER SONNTAGS-BLATT.<sup>2</sup> No comment has yet come from the Catholic bishops, either in the GDR or the Federal Republic. In November/December 1976 the Catholic News Agency (KNA), closely linked to the FRG episcopate, published in its Church

press service a three-part series of articles touching on this topic among others.<sup>3</sup> At that time Monsignor Wolfgang Knauff, press officer to the West Berlin diocese, merely issued a brief confirmation.<sup>4</sup>

In fact church construction in the GDR (assisted by D-mark contributions) is nothing new. There is not enough space here to give more details of that which, shortly after the end of the war, began as reconstruction and --especially with respect to the churches of the Reformed Faith--is by no means concluded yet. Two standard works<sup>5</sup> may be of help, although the figures quoted there are no longer quite up to date. The Leipzig collection of documents "Church Construction Now" gives the figure of 669 for remodeled, restored and new Catholic churches in the GDR. The ratio is somewhat less favorable for the Evangelical churches which, in 1945, counted 200 churches completely destroyed and 2,678 seriously damaged from a total of 9,824.

In the reconstruction stage and sometimes even now these church construction operations have been financed from several sources. In addition to the tithe which flowed more abundantly in the 1950's than now and to street collections (to this day the state permits the two major Churches such collections every spring, exclusively for "church reconstruction"--in addition to the two street collections for the Catholic Caritas and the Evangelical Diakonie [charitable institutions] respectively in the fall), state money is granted (additionally to the M1.2 million annually--including M800,000 for the Evangelical Churches--from the central Otto Nuschke Fund this also includes moneys from the budget for the maintenance of municipal monuments. From the beginning much financial aid also came from the West. Since 1952 the GDR Diakonie has been able to put up some buildings with foreign exchange contributions entirely; in 1968 this inter-church aid was substantially expanded specifically for homes and hospitals. In 1972 the so-called "special construction program" now being fully implemented, was negotiated between state and Church.

#### Pastoral Aspects

For the Churches pastoral problems represented the crucial aspects. As a rule the Churches were not granted permission to build in the new housing areas which are proliferating every year. The Catholic Christ Church, consecrated in Rostock in 1971, was an exception widely noted. Where villages were transformed into suburbs, the Churches were still able to carry on their pastoral services in the old buildings and on occasion put up ancillary structures. In the major socialist new housing areas, though, the very presence of the Churches was in jeopardy. This lack was constantly deplored at several Evangelical Synods in recent years; at the same time the topic of the new housing areas was raised by Church interventions at various political levels. Furthermore, during negotiations about construction programs, the Evangelical Churches in particular suffered from financial difficulties as well as the question of assuring pastoral services in new housing areas. This is the point where we find certain differences in the structure of the

special construction programs for the Evangelical and Catholic Churches. The Protestants have a considerably larger stock of old churches, some of them ranking as historical monuments. For the Catholics, on the other hand, major projects of this kind--the St. Hedwig Cathedral in East Berlin, the Palace Church in Dresden or the cathedrals in Erfurt and Nordhausen--no longer represent a priority problem. The first special construction program (negotiated in 1972, begun in 1973) therefore bore features strongly marked by concern for historical monuments as far as the Evangelical Church was concerned, while the Catholics were able to include in this first construction program--in addition to social and charitable projects--more new constructions for services, congregational duties and administration. As, on the Evangelical side, the first construction program was coupled with the special project for the restoration of Berlin Cathedral (with the state holding a considerable interest regarding this historical monument and the cityscape aspect), the Protestants hoped in 1972/1973 to be able to include specifically pastoral buildings. The items excluded from the first program became part of the second special construction program, defined in the winter of 1976/1977. In addition the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR--as the burdensome heritage of the People's Church, so to speak--submitted to the government a list of 40 churches which are no longer needed but have historical interest. It is proposed in future to use them as social and cultural centers.<sup>6</sup> Examples for such use exist in Frankfurt/Oder, Halle and Magdeburg where churches and monasteries have been transformed into concert halls and cultural centers.

The numerical and the financial volume respectively<sup>7</sup> look something like this: For the Evangelical Church the first special construction program specified the construction or restoration of more than 100 churches and church buildings. The expenditure involved must be assessed at nearly DM90 million; by the summer of 1976 at least one sixth of the money had been spent. The 1972 special construction program was supplemented for projects of the GDR Evangelical Diakonie (hospitals and homes for the disabled) by economic assistance with a D-mark volume of something like two thirds of the church building program. The East Berlin cathedrals represent special cases. While the French Cathedral on the Square of the Academy (formerly Gendarmenmarkt) is to be restored within the scope of the special construction program<sup>8</sup> and the German Cathedral (which does not belong to the Church) on the same Square is included in the government reconstruction program, the cathedral built in the Wilhelmine era on Marx-Engels Square is being restored largely with funds contributed by the Evangelical Church in the Federal Republic with only a minor grant from the GDR Government. No decision has yet been issued about the future use of the latter cathedral which will be completed (at least the outside structure) by 1980. The Evangelical Church expects various Church facilities to be housed there and services held. About half each of the first Catholic special construction program referred to church buildings and social-charitable projects respectively. A total volume of DM35-40 million is assumed; half the money has already been expended. The construction programs of both Churches are largely conducted via the East Berlin foreign trade enterprises Limes and Intrac which have been cooperating with Church agencies for some time past.

While Intrac largely supplies building materials made in the GDR (rather like Genex in the sector vehicles and consumer goods), Limex looks after complete construction orders and makes available the capacities of the large construction combines.

The project lists of the GDR Evangelical Church in the second construction program (which is expected to get under way in 1977/1978 and therefore run parallel to the first special construction program which will continue for several years to come) list the requirements for 35 new housing areas. The Catholic Church in the GDR is discussing about a dozen new churches,<sup>9</sup> and similar figures are given for the remaining Christian communities.

The monetary volume of the second special construction program is not yet determined. Various Church sources support these special construction programs: Among the Catholics some dioceses, the German Conference of Bishops in general, the Boniface Operation of German Catholics in Paderborn (which assists the pastoral care of the diaspora in the FRG, the GDR and Scandinavia) and the German Caritas Federation in Freiburg; in the Evangelical sector the distribution is much the same. Both Churches have in common a certain shift in their appraisal of these financial grants. The GDR Evangelical Church likes to speak of "ecumenical" aid, the GDR Catholic Church--especially since the episcopate has gained its independence--stresses its involvement in the Universal Church: Here as there it is apparent that the orientation toward the West is receding in favor of an orientation toward the world at large.

#### Economic Aspects

To some extent the motivation of party and state with respect to these concessions is certainly due to the flow of foreign exchange linked with such church building operations. At times economists represented the driving force in the negotiations about the special construction programs. Yet, from the aspect of sheer volume, these transactions are minor by comparison with Bonn's payments to East Berlin.<sup>10</sup> It must be taken into account, though, that the large sums from transit settlements and others are part and parcel of the wider scope of CEMA and especially the obligations toward the Soviet Union, so that the GDR economy derives relatively greater foreign exchange benefits from the lesser monetary transactions. Nevertheless the special construction programs cannot be attributed to these economic aspects only.

#### Political Aspects

With regard to foreign policy we may note two lines of interpretation: One preponderantly Evangelical, the other mainly Catholic. Evangelical churchmen indicate the membership of GDR Protestants in the Geneva World Council of Churches and other ecumenical bodies which bring quite a few international delegations to socialist Germany. On the Catholic side the European communist conference of June 1976 is considered to have triggered--at least to some extent--the government church construction offer. Both interpretations that the persistent dearth of church construction in the GDR is unlikely to



help either the international reputation of the country nor the communist popular front policy in Western Europe. For the Catholic Church it is also a matter of relations between the GDR and the Vatican. In the summer of 1975 the topic church construction was, for instance, discussed at length by Papal "Foreign Minister" Casaroli in his talks with representatives of the GDR Government.

At home the SED's decision to allow churches to be constructed does not, of course, mean that it has jettisoned its doctrine of the withering away of religion (nor its long-term ideological concept in the educational sector), but it is prepared for this "withering away" to be a very long drawn-out process which in the meantime includes a visible Church even to be incorporated in state construction planning. Furthermore there is the motive of internal security. A halfway reasonable relationship with the institutionalized Church is beneficial in this respect. Church circles nevertheless assume that problems will still arise in the detailed implementation of the second special construction program--for example in the matter of the location of the new churches. The same applies to the layout of new churches: Party and state favor exclusively sacramental structures, the Churches also want functional accommodation. To the politico-ideological motives must be added the rapidly progressing secularization (an international phenomenon in new housing areas): By the time the churches now offered are completed (something that may take until well into the 1980's), the numbers of churchgoers are likely to decline even further. Whether we will then have new churches which remain empty, is an open question. In the meantime the Church leadership organizations and congregations concerned are of course very pleased and full of confidence about the opportunities offering themselves to the congregations for growth and revitalization. It remains to be seen how these opportunities will be used.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. See Evangelical Press Service (EPD), Berlin, 7 July 1976.
2. Reinhard Henkys, "Special Construction Program in Full Cry," BERLINER SONNTAGSBLATT, 14 November 1976, p 1--based on EPD report, 10 November 1976; also based on this report article in FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG, 13 November 1976.
3. See Martin Hoellen, "Church in the GDR," in KNA-KATHOLISCHE KORRESPONDENZ (KK), Bonn, No 48, 30 November, "Construction Program With Western Help," No 49, 7 December, "The Number of Catholics Declining," No 51/52, 21 December, "'Small Steps' as Opportunity."
4. See Wolfgang Knauff, "The Catholic Church in the GDR 1945-1976," STIMMEN DER ZEIT (Munich), No 2, February 1977, p 19.

5. "Der Wiederaufbau der Kirchen in der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik" [The Reconstruction of Churches in the German Democratic Republic], collective of authors: Albert Dohmann, Elmar Jense, Hans Mueller, Union-Verlag, East Berlin 1964, and "Kirchbau Heute. Dokumentation-Diskussion-Kritik" [Church Construction Today. Documentation-Discussion-Critique], edited by Elfriede Kiel, St. Benno-Verlag, Leipzig 1969.
6. See Henkys, SONNTAGSBLATT, 14 November 1976.
7. See Hoellen, KNA-KK No 49, 7 December 1976, p 5.
8. See Henkys as before (note 6).
9. See Hoellen, KNA-KK No 48, 30 November 1976, p 2.
10. In 1976 alone, and excluding swing, DM665 million including DM400 million transit settlements and DM131 million special measures of the Federal Ministry for Inner-German Relations--quoting chairman Leicht of the Bundestag Budget Committee, reported by (among others) TAGESSPIEGEL, 2 March 1977.

#### Problems of Christians

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 21 May 77 p 10

[Article by Peter Jochen Winters; Goerlitz, May 77: "On Being a Christian in the GDR"]

[Text] The Synod of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches staged the latest meeting of its second legislative period (lasting 4 years each) in Goerlitz on the banks of the Neisse, a Silesian city left untouched by the war and now within wight of the Polish border. The Evangelical Church of the Goerlitz Church Region comprising that part of Silesia which is situated on the West bank of the Neisse, is headed by Bishop Fraenkel and is the smallest of the eight member Churches of the GDR Church Federation.

Those present discussed the main topic of the Synod--"The Layman in the Congregation and the Church." They also dealt with the condition of Christians in the GDR on the basis of the report compiled by the Conference of Evangelical Church leadership organizations and read by Bishop Schoenherr, chairman of the GDR Federation of Churches.

Obviously two very different sets of experiences exist concerning the relationship between party and state on the one side and Christians and Churches on the other. In those areas where party and state leadership meet bishops and Church leadership organizations, the climate as of now appears to be relaxed; in fact the Churches have reason to point to some--at least verbal--concessions from the other side. On the other hand difficulties and harassment are still the order of the day whenever Christian laymen and ministers

must deal with Marxist teachers, FDJ or SED functionaries and government offices. Christian citizens are discriminated against. Many fear that the SED will continue firmly to maintain its goal to make life so hard for the Church that it will finally wither away. Bishop Schoenherr, therefore, when talking to reporters at the conclusion of the Synod, took the opportunity to emphasize once again that Christians in the GDR want to be taken seriously and respected as "genuine fellow-citizens" in the socialist society. "Church in socialism," he said, means that the Churches are aware of their coresponsibility for events in the GDR, that they participate in the successes and achievements of the GDR and also claim a voice in those matters which the Church must discuss critically.

The GDR constitution and the SED party program guarantee the freedom of conscience and religion as well as the equality of all citizens, "independent of ideology and religious conviction." Upon his election as chairman of the GDR Council of State SED General Secretary Honecker had also reaffirmed to the People's Chamber that the GDR offers every citizen, regardless of ideology and religious affiliation, the opportunity "fully to develop his capacities and talents, his personality." On the other hand the SED party program also states: "The educational system has the function to train and educate young people who, equipped with sound knowledge and skills, are capable of creative thought and independent action, whose Marxist-Leninist grounded world image permeates personal conviction and behavior, who feel, think and act as patriots of their socialist fatherland and as proletarian internationalists."

The education of the young, therefore, leaves no scope for any basic ideology other than that of Marxism-Leninism. One member of the Synod said that children and youths in the GDR are indoctrinated with hatred. He begged those responsible to take a leaf out of the book of the aged "Pasionaria" who said that the Spanish Communists were returning home "without hatred or grudges." Fellow students attack Christian children for their beliefs. One Sunday school teacher reported that her students must creep to religious instruction surreptitiously. Teachers warn parents of Christian children against allowing the latter to attend religious instruction if the parents are truly concerned for the future of their children. Even if such children manage to get admitted to the expanded secondary school or even universities, they have no prospects of ever obtaining senior management or other important posts.

The discrepancy between the guarantees for Christians formulated by the party and state leadership and the harsh everyday reality is also demonstrated in the matter of conscientious objection; the GDR admits this as the only country of the Warsaw Pact. Conscientious objectors are sent to "construction units" of the National People's Army where they are set to digging trenches and similar labors. Anyone claiming conscientious objector status is ever after considered an unreliable element: He is not admitted to higher educational institutions and is otherwise prevented from advancement. In addition to the incidence of conscientious objection, some young people in

the GDR refuse induction in the armed services altogether. They are given prison sentences which evidently are longer now than before. The Synod has' also touched upon this topic and asked the department for theological studies in the German Church Federation to reconsider the function of the draft resistor within the scope of the ecumenical program against militarism and the arms race, and in conjunction with the Church witness for peace. Absolute draft resisters, said one member of the Synod, with to bear witness to the fact that in a socialist society the army is actually a foreign body and service in the army an emergency measure only on the road to a world without arms. In this connection complaints were heard about the "far reaching habituation to army, armaments, military education and the military permeation of important sectors of social life" in the GDR. The Church should provide the impetus to an alert and critical disarmament consciousness.

Difficulties evidently also arise when ecclesiastical buildings are to be constructed in new housing areas. The eight member Churches of the GDR Federation of Evangelical Churches have submitted 55 projects, 10 with priority ranking. Yet until now not a single church has been built in a new housing area; in fact it has not even been settled where one may be built in the future.

Despite the tensions Christians in the GDR live with, they are prepared "to accept their fair share of responsibility for the life in politics and society, regardless of ideological conflicts, and consonant with their specific potential." However, in the opinion of the Synod, this will require the equality of Christians in the GDR, guaranteed by party and state leadership, to be in fact practiced by the subordinated organs also. The report of the Church leadership organization commented this point by saying: "In the spirit of a 'good and trusting relationship' which is so often quoted, it really will not do for the Christian to be compelled to ask: In the construction of communism is the Christian faith maybe just a remnant which should be eliminated?"

That is why the Church is interested in pursuing the talks begun on 11 May with the state secretary for religious affairs "on fundamental questions of the coexistence of Christians and non-Christians in the GDR" and extending these talks beyond educational matters.

The Church here points to the words of the state secretary for religious affairs who described the relations between state and Church as a "process which cannot be considered apart from social development."

At the conclusion of its meeting the Synod decided to make available to all congregations in the GDR the complete transcript of the report by the Conference of Church Leadership Organizations. In view of the plain language adopted in this report with regard to the problems arising in the relations between state and Church it is not to be expected, however, that permission will be given for the report (or even its most important passages) to be

reproduced verbatim in the five Church Sunday papers published in the GDR. And that despite the fact that these newspapers cannot be sold at newsstand but must be obtained by subscription. "We are talking in a very protected space, that is why we can say things here, which cannot normally be said elsewhere," that is how one Synod member aptly described the situation of the Church.

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POLAND

SZSP CONGRESS: IDEOLOGY, PATRIOTISM FOR YOUNG INTELLIGENTSIA

Draft Resolution

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 18 Apr 77 p 3

[Article: "Discussion of Draft Resolution of Second SZSP [Socialist Union of Polish Students] Congress; for Greater Effectiveness of Ideological Training, for a Modern Socialist Institution of Higher Education, for a Strengthening of SZSP's Moral Authority"]

[Text] As part of the young generation of Poles, we desire to make our contribution to the development of an advanced socialist society. Our task, which follows from the resolutions of the Seventh Party Congress, consists of having an ideologically-based, new socialist intelligentsia which is bound to the working class and its party grow up within the ranks of SZSP.

The SZSP is a mass ideological-political organization with a general, universal nature of operation. It joins its ideological moral-upbringing tasks in with numerous social self-government functions.

I. Moral training in the spirit of socialist patriotism is one of the basic directions of SZSP work. The upgrading of ideologicopolitical knowledge should accompany all the organization's program efforts: propaganda and news-media activity, publishing, tourism, and culture, within the framework of college-students' worker internships and in various sorts of SZSP program activities.

In utilizing our knowledge we should spread a familiarity with socioeconomic problems. We should devote more room in our daily activities to the question of upgrading the level of economics knowledge.

We shall popularize the vision of the Poland of the future. In practical operations the organization must create situations which help students to develop attitudes of responsibility for the fate of their country, the environment, and their immediate surroundings.

In involving students and having them take an active role in social, political, economic, and cultural life, we will call forth ambitions to lead in accomplishing the tasks of socialist construction and bolster the conviction that the young generations have an important, growing role to play in accomplishing the party's program.

We are setting for ourselves the goal of developing comprehensive cooperation with the young people of the socialist countries, with all the progressive youth of the world. We will improve multilateral contacts with the Leninist Consomol. The 60th anniversary of the October Revolution will be a particularly important period. The organization will take a number of political, scientific, and cultural steps during that time to popularize the ideas of October. Further activation at the forum of the international student movement is another important task for SZSP. We will take an active part in the preparations for and the course of the festival of young people and college students in Havana.

In the institutions of higher education it is particularly important to link the efforts of college instructors and students and to saturate all the institutions' didactic and moral-training activities with ideological content. The program of SZSP political work should be fully coordinated with the program of study and the activity of party organizations and other social bodies operating within the institutions of higher education. In training work we should develop conviction and motivation in students and inspire them to take a direct part in accomplishing the SZSP program.

II. The organization will create a climate of recognition for good students. SZSP bodies each year, in close cooperation with the scientific and instruction staff, will conduct a general review of scientific activity and the condition of instruction. We shall consistently develop initiative to inspire the idea of excellence in study and to create conditions for the development of novel creativity, time-saving improvements, and inventiveness on the part of college students.

The organization will develop a broad discussion on the subject of the future model of the school and will inculcate a number of curriculum measures which even today will modernize the process of the institution's instruction and training.

All the bodies of the organization will conduct an analysis of the role and level of activity of their representatives in collegial bodies of the institution of higher education. Each year of study, at our initiative there should be an analysis of the level and effectiveness of the instruction and training process, and scientific-didactic personnel and students should take part in it.

In a comprehensive way we will expand the functions of the student scientific movement: deepening students' scientific interests and talents, helping to make college teaching more modern, bringing students into scientific research and development in a practical way, and carrying out research on practical socioeconomic application and suitability.

The SZSP places emphasis on the close relationship between the institutions of higher education and the practical aspects of daily life and on the systematic inclusion of college students in the economic practice and life of working people. This is a fundamental principle of our upbringing influence.

III. SZSP should be particularly concerned with those spheres of the organization's activity which are aimed at the whole community of students and young college teachers who create values which are decisive in determining the quality of life and the standard of living and who develop the desired characteristics of the socialist, humanist personality.

SZSP's universal nature is best expressed in the student community's participation in cultural activity, artistic creativity, and the student tourist and sports movement.

The further quantitative and qualitative development of the student artistic movement is one of the important elements of the ideological and intellectual activation of the academic community. It is the task of SZSP echelons and activist groups to give continual care to newly created groups, to develop college and community forms of presentation, and to create conditions for the expansion of the creative, active interests of college students.

Student clubs should be a place for creative groups to work, for department presentations, and for meetings, discussions, and recreation. In it a program for political education and the popularization of the work of scientific circles should be carried out.

Student tourism should be developed to make recreational effects coincide with cognitive results. Tourism is also a school of personal culture, skill in group living and working, and the structuring of interests.

It is the task of SZSP and AZS groups to inculcate habits of active recreation through participation in sports matches and activities, and to develop persistence and noble competition.

IV. Efforts should be made to improve college study conditions by increasing the amount of teaching area per student and by reducing the number of students per instructor. In addition, we should call for a reduction in the size of section discussion groups.

The action groups play a special role, execute special tasks, and bear special responsibility when benefits are distributed under the self-government system. It should be a principle that discussions are held, opinions expressed, and determinations made concerning the distribution of scholarships, allocation of places in student dormitories, and assignment to action groups.



The question of married college students, particularly those with children, is an important matter for our organization. We feel that married students should be given priority in the system of material assistance. We are calling for an expanded system of nurseries and rooms for married students in the student dormitories.

The student dormitory is a place where the whole SZSP program is carried out, because there is a favorable climate here for structuring attitudes and views. This places before us the important task of using the area of the student dormitory as a spot for the organization to exert a moral-upbringing influence and to reach individual students with its program goals.

V. The decision to join SZSP should be testimony to a conscious selection of a philosophy and way of life and should mean the affirmation of Poland's socialist development.

Membership in our organization means the conscious acceptance of program goals and the statutory standards of the organization, the setting of high ideological, political, and moral requirements for oneself and one's fellow students, and the obligation of popularizing the association's program and of winning the support of all college youth to carry it out.

The SZSP action group is the organization's basic unit. Its activity is based on the members' active autonomy and on the organization's program. The action group's basic work is collective, collegial resolution of all problems, study of the joint pursuit of ways to improve life and make it more modern, and self-upbringing.

#### Chairman Addresses Congress

Warsaw SZTANDAR MŁODYCH in Polish 19 Apr 77 p 4

[Report of the Presidium of the Main Administration of the Socialist Union of Polish Students by Stanislaw Gabrielski, chairman: "We Are Shaping the Ideological and Patriotic Face of the Young Intelligentsia"]

[Excerpts] Unity of Privileges and Responsibilities

The best upbringing method is that social action which changes living conditions and develops political awareness. In our organization we are bent on the structuring of an active approach to life. Passivity is an attitude unworthy of a person living in these new times. We want to be a school for people who are ideologically-committed, courageous, independent, and examples of enthusiasm and spirit in action. In our activity we should teach people to be unselfish, socially sensitive, dedicated, and modest and we should shape nonconformist attitudes. Attitudes contrary to the assumptions of our ideology must be the subject of justified criticism on the part of SZSP action groups and all members of our organization. We cannot permit disregard for the basic responsibilities of the college student. We must see that assessments of people are just and struggle

against favoritism, disorderliness, and cynicism. We should criticize asocial individuals and examples of demoralization, ordinary laziness, and sloppy work.

#### Responsible for the Modern Institution of Higher Education

Changes occurring in higher education, though visible, are still not keeping up with the expectations of college youth. This applies mainly to the ideological-upbringing influence of the institution of higher education, the quality of the teaching process, and the structuring of socialist human relations. We feel that we share the responsibility for improving our colleges and making them more modern. Along with the teaching staff we are interested in modernizing the programs and methods of higher education, in partnership relationships between college instructors and students, in equal study conditions, in the continual improvement of students' social and living conditions, and in more complete student access to the scientific facilities of their home institutes.

The contemporary institution of higher education should feature a partnership between college instructors and students and universal active student participation in the life of the institution. In this respect we have a considerable record of achievement and much positive experience. Despite this, we cannot be entirely satisfied in this area. There are many complicated reasons for this. One of them is traditionalism and an aversion to treating students as a joint contributor to the work of the institution.

We want college society to develop the lasting realization that the more modern the institution of higher education is the broader the idea of student autonomy and self-government is. We must rank our representatives to the institution's collegial bodies more highly and create the practice of ongoing information concerning student opinions of the results of the work of our representatives.

It is our organization's duty to show constant concern for the modern content of the instruction process and its organization. The effectiveness and organization of the course of college study should be the subject of systematic student discussion, and the views of their representatives, action groups, should be taken into account.

The results of instruction and upbringing depend to a large extent on the attitudes of college instructors. One may effectively structure those ideological and moral models which one presents himself. There is probably no field of human vocational activity in which his views and attitudes determine the effects of his work to the extent that they do in work with young people, but sometimes students' contact with the academic and instructional staff is limited to meeting formal requirements. College instructors' activity is most meaningful when it evokes greater social and academic activity on the part of the students. Our organization creates a climate of genuine

recognition for college instructors who are involved in student upbringing. We have placed the following slogan before the congress: "A general vote for the best instruction and upbringing of young people."

Important changes have taken place in student programs in recent years, but the curriculum still has an unnecessary burden of memory items. There is inadequate integration of general education with specialized education and sociopolitical education, too little relationship between theoretical preparation and practical preparation. Therefore, there must be a systematic analysis of college curriculums to reduce the student's burden of required subjects and make it possible for him to study more independently.

We should emphasize students' personal responsibility for results of study to a greater extent and create within the colleges an atmosphere which is favorable to the pursuit of interests in a given area of study and in the most modern advances of world technology and science. These issues should be the focal point of the interest of department councils and action groups of the SZSP.

#### On the Further Development of the Student Scientific Movement

The student scientific movement, of which SZSP is a patron, encompasses more than 1,000 circles and 23,000 members. We are seeing its continual quantitative and qualitative growth. We support any sort of comprehensive, interdisciplinary drives of scientific groups which make it possible for college students to conduct modern research. We want to influence the scientific drive program to relate student scientific activity increasingly to the needs of the national culture and economy, to instruction and upbringing, and also to the research of the institutes. We think the scientific groups, which are involved in the newest scientific achievements in our country and abroad, should develop scientific discussions more widely among students. Among members of the scientific circles the humanities, and an interest in and familiarity with Marxist methodology of research and current contemporary problems should be popularized. We think that it should be the ambition of members of these circles to build up a young scientific staff, particularly in the humanities and social sciences.

Current problems of Poland's socioeconomic development make it necessary for the student scientific movement to engage in the broadest possible research in the realm of agriculture and the food economy, and in protection of the natural environment. We are undertaking research on young people in all environmental groups, research which will be helpful in SZSP activity and throughout the entire youth movement. Initiative which liberates the innovative, improvement-oriented, and inventive creativity of college students should be consistently developed.

The student scientific movement is a valuable trump which we hold. We should devote the proper attention to the activists of scientific circles, listen to their opinions, and give attention to their views. This movement is an integral part of the upbringing program of our organization. Today we are

announcing the calling of the Second Congress of Student Creators of Science and Technology in April 1978.

Young academic instructors make up a large group of the 45,000 scientific employees and officers of instruction of the institutions of higher education. We feel ideologically and morally responsible for their work and for the conditions of their comprehensive development. This stems from the fact that many among them are members of our organization. We expect greater activity from them in the upbringing process being carried out in the colleges. Taking this into account we are calling for universal, full pedagogization of scientific-instruction employees, particularly in the fields of technology, economics, medicine, agriculture, and art. In our opinion there is a need to create conditions for a broader exchange of experience between individual institutions on the subject of carrying out the instruction and upbringing process and of directions for improving it.

We should have a greater influence on the selection of young scientists, so that the SZSP opinion becomes an important factor in employment for teaching jobs. We should also concern ourselves with an increase in young employees from workers' and peasants' families. Within higher education the improvement of the system of evaluating the work of scientific-instruction staff is an important question.

The problem of peasant and working-class youth's access to the institutions of higher education is one of the issues to which we attach particular importance. We think that everything should be done, in order that each child, regardless of his parents' material or vocational situation, has an equal opportunity for intellectual, social, and existential development. In cooperation with ZHP and ZSMP we will continue to develop those instances of initiative which help increase the proportion of workers' and peasants' children attending college.

The proper distribution of highly-qualified staff is an important question today. There are a number of disquieting phenomena here. About 30 percent of the graduates are employed in areas which do not fit their educational qualifications. There are imbalances in the concentration of staff from one unit to another and from one region of the country to another. This year additional jobs must be found for about 20,000 graduates. In the precongress discussion we brought up the problems of a vocational start for college graduates a good deal. Much in this area has been done during the past few years. Let me mention here merely the introduction of student housing pass-books. I think that it is worthwhile to consider proposals that a system of loans be created for graduates who take jobs in neglected regions.

Of considerable importance to us is the question of the sociovocational adaptation of young staff in the places of employment and in the new environments, the problem of graduates' communication with their mother institution, and the problem of continuing education. We should take up this whole group of graduates' problems concerning a start in vocational life and resolve it in cooperation with our brother organization the ZSMP.

## The Shaping of an Honest Attitude Toward Work

In our ideological upbringing work we place particular emphasis on the direct relationship between the institution of higher education and practical applications of daily life and on the systematic inclusion of students in economic practice, where theory comes face to face with practical experience and impressions are compared with social reality. This is a fundamental principle of our upbringing activity. It is because of this that we can develop a straightforward, rational attitude toward work and toward each obligation which is undertaken.

Young members of the intelligentsia, workers, and farmers are brought closer together by undertakings entered into together, and mutual respect and recognition for work well done are fostered. In this joint work for the country we learn a responsible attitude for the values created, respect for public property, and concern for the collective good, for our joint home.

We shall continue to improve the organizational system of work experiences for college students. In cooperation with the OHP [Volunteer Work Brigades] central headquarters, we shall foster the idea of student volunteer work in carrying out the most important investments of the country. We see the need for and possibility of broader student participation in the investment program and in the remodelling of students' own institutions. The students of Poznan should be an example. Many students are working in student cooperatives. We shall strive to see that their work is more closely related to their course of study, in order for it to help deepen the knowledge and skills acquired in the institution and make them more meaningful.

We attach great importance to the development of self-governing cooperatives. This is to be encouraged by the creation of the Union of Student Work Cooperatives operating under the political and program leadership of the SZSP.

In 1976 the SZSP main administration adopted a resolution on beginning a Chelm-80 student drive. In Chelm, the first capital of Socialist Poland, we are teaching the young generation of the Polish intelligentsia modern patriotism. We want the Chelm-80 student drive to become an undertaking which will activate the entire student community throughout the country. Participation in it is an honorable duty and will be treated as a way in which the organization singles out the best members of SZSP.

Prior to the Eighth Party Congress we want to evaluate our activity in the Chelm area and to assess the accomplishment of individual and group tasks. The report which we want to make for the period since the Seventh Party Congress will be proof of the commitment and emotional relationship between the aspirations and ambitions of college youth and the program to develop an advanced socialist society.

## Set Down Goals on a Par With the Aspirations of the Generation

In participating daily in the great issues and socioeconomic problems, in the transformations of Socialist Poland, we must remember that the basic trump card which will determine whether socialism will triumph over capitalism is human success, the meeting of a person's life aspirations and goals.

For a young person socialism has become a general social value. This value is not merely a simple affirmation but the need for one's own personal experience of socialism. The quality of our life and its style should correspond to the epoch in which we live. We are at a stage in economic development in which young people have a great deal of material wealth which not too long ago fell into the realm of unattainable dreams. Are these material goods becoming an independent goal in and of themselves or an indispensable means for creating spiritual, artistic, and social values?

What will our life goals and aspirations be like once material needs are met and we resolve the problem of housing, the satisfaction of market demand, and full market stability? These are questions which are coming up even today and which will become key issues in upbringing work in the near future.

We have created a good program for structuring social values among students, but we are often unable to resolve simple human problems which appear to be very intimate personal matters but which often are a condition to the effectiveness of the great values. We are concerned about socialist human relations in the institutions of higher education and about a high cultural level of life. We want to devote particular attention to young married couples and to young families. The problem of family happiness is of great importance to every young person. It is the task of student cultural activity not only to shape aesthetic taste but above all to link young people's thoughts and feelings up to the beautiful, progressive deeds of our own culture and world culture.

For years the student artistic movement has served the function of the avant-garde in the pursuit of new contents of the form of artistic statement and has been contributing great values to the development of national culture. Student artists have the right to take risks and make mistakes, but they must not give up their ideals or resort to empty formal tricks. Their artistic statement is at the same time the ideological-political statement of SZSP members. Student creativity does not and cannot exist parallel to the organization but outside it; it is an integral part of our organization's program.

We are critical in evaluating the work of the student clubs. The small clubs in the student dormitories should monitor their programs and give up unrealistic artistic ambitions. Instead they should develop residents' skill in the active use of spare time. College and local clubs should be a place in which the ideological-upbringing program is carried out and should provide conditions for the development of creative and artistic groups. The forms of recreation and amusement proposed for the student clubs too often conflict

with our students' intellectual activity. We should be critical of any climate which fosters negative behavior and the following of pseudomodern models.

We should devote far more attention to popularizing culture among our colleagues, to the reading of newspapers and books, to activity in the clubs, and to the development of musical, theatrical, film, artistic, and literary interests. We are also concerned with daily culture in the broad sense. We must work for our socialist institutions of higher education to put forth a graduate with a high level of political and personal culture and a cultural way of life.

We are announcing the academic year 1977-1978 as the year of the Sixth Culture Festival of Students of the Polish People's Republic.

One of the manifestations of the general nature of SZSP activity is the student tourist and sports movement. We attach great importance to the dynamic development of sports and tourism, and we are fully aware of their upbringing value. What we call small-scale Saturday-Sunday tourism is being popularized among the SZSP action groups, and this activity is particularly important. Student tourism must be a real social movement with an open nature, a movement to which the entire student community has access. We shall also try to develop higher-level tourism.

The development of foreign tourism, which is including ever greater numbers of students obliges SZSP to provide proper ideological-political, and organizational preparation for participants and also provide more cadres for pilot programs and for all services of the Almaty BPiT.

Our achievements up to the present time in the realm of popularizing sports have been far from adequate. This applies mainly to mass sports activities among students, but the popularization of sports participation is also far from ideal.

We are critical of the operations and activity of the Academic Sports Union in the sports field. We want to tie its activity in with the SZSP program, to define and carry out concrete tasks in the realm of the development of mass sports among students.

The problems of student life and work and also the social and living conditions of our fellow students are a subject of friendly concern and constant interest for the leadership of the party and government. We had an opportunity to discuss them, for example, during the traditional meetings with Comrade Edward Gierek, First Secretary of the PZPR Central Committee. They were also the subject of deliberations at a meeting of the Central Committee's Politburo and a fruitful meeting between Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz and the leadership of the SZSP main administration.

The details of the decisions adopted were reflected today in Piotr Jaroszewicz's address. On behalf of the entire student community and your colleague delegates I should like once again to thank sincerely Edward Gierek, First Secretary of our party, Premier Piotr Jaroszewicz, and the leadership of the party and the government for their daily concern for vital student matters. These important decisions will bear fruit in the form of further intensive work of all students for the good of our socialist country.

#### Let Us Bolster the Moral Authority of Action Groups

Our Socialist Union of Polish Students, a mass politicoideological college-youth organization with a general nature of operation, acts under the ideological and political leadership of the Polish United Workers Party. As a politicoideological organization, in practice we implement a youth organization concept based on the work of the basic units of the SZSP, which joins all members together along the principles of internal discipline and self-government. We are trying systematically to inculcate these principle-based fundamentals in the organization's practical operations.

SZSP membership must be affirmation of the acceptance of the organization's program goals and statute standards. We make the SZSP action group activities the focal point of the whole organization's interest. They are the key elements in the ideological-upbringing process. All the issues of student study, work, and life are resolved within these groups, and it is here that character and views are shaped and social enthusiasms and interests are revealed.

We shall employ all means to bolster the moral authority of the action group. The work of the basic units of the organization will be a criterium for evaluating the activity of department and institution echelons.

We must upgrade the style of our work to bring it closer to the students and to broaden the support of social activists. Everyone who belongs to us, every SZSP member and every activist, should stand out by virtue of his ideological commitment, great personal culture, sensitivity, modesty, and skill; his conviction, argumentation, and group leadership; and his moral authority stemming from his knowledge and interests.

Therefore, we are creating models for good work organization. This is the line of modernity, a condition for adaptation to the rhythm of the country's socioeconomic life and respect for the time and effort of us all. This will permit us to make better use of activists' time and to reduce the amount of time lost on unnecessary activity. Our activists must have more time to deepen their knowledge and upgrade their skills, more time for direct contact with people.

This is our program. We should instill in the student community the conviction that there is room for each of us in carrying it out.



We are particularly proud of the fact that the best activists and members of our organization are entering the ranks of the Polish United Workers Party. At present about 4 percent of all students belong to the PZPR, but during the period before the Second SZSP Congress we recommended about 1,100 students for party membership.

The Seventh Party Congress made it possible for basic youth union groups to recommend their members for PZPR membership. This right is a particular distinction. We want to make careful use of this privilege and to maintain all its upbringing values.

At present only a few action groups have earned the right to recommend. Hence, in this area we still have a great deal to do. First of all, we should upgrade the upbringing and political work in the basic units of our organization, operating in close cooperation with the fundamental party organization and echelons in the colleges and universities. We should also talk on an everyday basis in the colleges and universities about the program, role, and tasks of the party, and about the attitudes and duties of the party member. The drive "The Party Talks to Young People" should be a practical activity of every college organization. The development of our "Studies in Party Knowledge" will be of great help in popularizing the party's program.

Polish students are devoted and genuinely committed to the ideas of patriotism and socialism. Our organization represents an important part of young people's citizenship, patriotic, and social education. We know that Socialist Poland is born out of a struggle between the old and the new. Our place is at the party's side, in the front line of that struggle.

We are bringing to a close the first term of operation of the Social Union of Polish Students. During our 4 years of difficult but fascinating activity we have monitored the student organization's formula which was adopted at the first congress. Of course we had more aspirations, plans, and ambitions. We have not been able to accomplish everything, but the most important thing is that the society was enriched with many new specialists who are college graduates and who by virtue of their knowledge, activity, and commitment will serve Socialist Poland wherever they happen to live and work. This is the source of the greatest meaning and significance of the work of our organization.

We are convinced that our second congress will establish a good program of action for SZSP and that we will join all college youth around this most important program idea of our organization, that is, the preparation of the young intelligentsia for beautiful, honorable service to the socialist homeland.

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POLAND

COMMENTARY ON EFFECT OF POLISH DISSIDENT MOVEMENT

Rotterdam NRC HANDELSBLAD in Dutch 26 May 77 p 4

[Text] Warsaw, May. -- After a couple of stormy weeks during which, by fits and starts, masses of arrests and house searches were carried out and then, albeit always a few days later, those arrested were released in great numbers, a tentative balance sheet can be made up. Nine of those arrested are still in confinement after the weekend. They are accused of violating Article 132 of the Polish criminal code, or in other words they are suspected of cooperation with foreign organizations to the harm of the interests of the People's Republic of Poland.

Of these nine, Kuron, Macierewicz, Chojecki, Naimski, Michnik, and Lipski are members of the KOR (Committee for the Defense of Workers), which was established in the autumn of last year to give legal and financial assistance to workers sentenced after the June strikes. The other three accused are Ostrowski, Blumsztajn, and Litynski, KOR collaborators who were concerned chiefly with publicity activities.

The last two mentioned are editors of the "information bulletin" distributed in carbon copies. In this sense they are to be placed on a level with the members of the committee.

From the first communiqué on, all KOR members have told who they were and what they stood for, with name and address.

It may be assumed that the KOR members that are still free will try to collect as many signed letters of protest as possible. They are trying in that way to influence public opinion in the West and to make themselves better known and increase their following in Poland.

Martyr

By making the Krakow student and KOR collaborator Pyjas, who died not long ago under mysterious circumstances, into a martyr, the committee has seen its following grow, especially in the important university cities of Krakow, Lodz, and Warsaw. During the period of the KOR's existence the accent has shifted more and more from pure help to civil rights, especially freedom

of expression of opinion. It is because of contacts with Western media that the KOR members are accused.

This shift of accent is partly the result of increasing repression to which the committee has been subjected. It is almost a sociological law that such a movement finds its greatest following among the young, well-trained generation. It is also practically certain that the first hard confrontation between "illegal" opposition and party establishment will have an effect on the party. But what effect?

In the West German weekly DER SPIEGEL for this week there is a letter from the historian Adam Michnik, one of the accused. After 9 months in West Europe, Michnik returned on 1 May to his own country. It is probable that, knowing that he might be in the hands of the law, he wrote his letter before his return for publication after his arrest.

#### Détente

The gist of his account is that it must not be thought in the West that efforts toward détente between East and West rule out support of the movement for civil rights in Eastern Europe. And he turns against a system that, in his words, makes man the property of the state and the state the property of a clique.

The question is whether this "clique" is so rigid that it will react compulsively by restricting the relatively great freedom in Poland, or whether it is flexible enough to avoid an intensification of the opposition between itself and a considerable part of the intelligentsia.

It may be assumed that a third alternative, mass suppression of critical utterances, will be found unattractive even by the party establishment, for that would further impair the already damaged reputation of Poland in the West and make it considerably harder for the domestic authorities, because the gap between pretended democracy and practical oppression would then become excessively clear.

Nor can the party restrict itself to these considerations. As long as the economic policy of the last six years was increasing the people's opportunities for consumption and freedom of movement, the party could reckon on some credit. The announcement of the doubling of food prices last summer led to a considerable number of spontaneous strikes throughout the country, which became known as the food riots of Radom and Ursus.

#### Gadfly

The price rises did not go through. The trials that did follow led to the establishment of the KOR, which has burrowed into the skin of the party like a troublesome gadfly.

The detention of the most active members of the KOR and of their closest collaborators may, of course, have the effect that this group gets into the western press less often in the near future, but it has saddled the régime

with a number of potential martyrs behind bars and a multiplied following on the outside. This spark of intellectual opposition must not fall into the powder keg of any new popular fury.

It is thus very important to the party for these reasons as well as others to give new impetus to the little "economic miracle" of the last few years. But Poland has not earned its considerable increase in prosperity solely on her own. The purchase of western licenses and factories has involved enormous loans, a considerable part of which must be paid back within the current planning period.

In the current plan the accent is again on increasing the consumption possibilities of the population. But now that foreign exchange is not coming in adequate supply from the growth of Polish exports to the west, prices on all sorts of goods and services are rising, though less abruptly than in June.

For even in Poland the money does have to come from somewhere. The shock of June evidently showed the top echelon of the party how remote they have become from the daily life of the masses, and that it is more sensible to present the people with the economic bill for the higher prosperity gradually.

#### Tactical

This impression of the party's tactics agrees with the manner in which matters have been handled during the last few weeks. The authorities have rendered the most active defiers of their authority harmless for the moment and at the same time have tried to prevent mass demonstrations by selective intervention. And when it has been impossible to prevent demonstrations, as in the case of the memorial masses for Pyjas in Krakow, Lodz, and Warsaw, at least they have prevented the presence of leading opposition figures and agitators.

A number of notorious firebrands had no idea what had hit them when last Friday they all at once found themselves in cells. This is in contrast to KOR members and sympathizers, who were put under house arrest during the memorial masses. The threatening presence of dozens and dozens of plain-clothes security police in the narrow streets of the old part of Warsaw was a measure that also showed a certain flexibility in party tactics. In Amsterdam the authorities have sometimes acted more clumsily when demonstrations were threatened.

Nevertheless, the chance remains that the party may call a halt to the gradual liberalization of the last few years, of which KOR was one evidence until a short time ago. It is possible to interpret in that way the warning that was given by Cardinal Wyszynski, the primate of the Polish Roman Catholic Church, last Thursday. He asked the authorities to modify the administrative methods that are now employed against individuals. And it may be assumed that the cardinal knows his Polish customers. Not too much is to be expected from any pressure that the party may feel from Belgrade,

for "dissident-hunting" is matched by "communist-hunting," and threats to discharge and downgrade critics of the régime are matched by Berufsverbote [German: bans on practicing one's profession]. These are not entirely domestic troubles.

The KOR, with Kuron and Michnik at its head, has also pursued certain tactics, and we may wonder whether their tactics have not overshot the mark. Headlines in the west can definitely lead to greater unwillingness on the part of the public and the people's representatives to send their governments to East-West conferences with a royal mandate and a lot of tactical good will. It can even be maintained that the long-range social-democratic policy of détente with regard to the East European communists (begun by Brandt, who knelt in Warsaw) is counteracted by KOR activities and the like.

#### Untactical

But we are also justified in asking whether there is any alternative to a movement that is trying to bring about a system in Eastern Europe, for example in Poland, that makes a real political opposition possible, or that, in Kuron's words, wants to achieve the "Finlandization" of Poland.

That would demand that the Polish United Workers' Party cease to be the only power bloc, a power bloc which, according to observers who have years of experience in the Polish capital to go on, has grown quite stiff and gray. And you do not get rid of all the lesser tin gods when you catch one leader or another. Anyway, what little tin god saws off the legs of his own throne? Surely not unless Big Brother tells him to?

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CSO: 3105/163

POLAND

MILITARY TECHNICAL ACADEMY ACTIVITIES CITED

Warsaw WOJSKO LUDOWE in Polish No 1, Jan 77 pp 38-44

[Article by Col Prof Dr Hab Edward Wlodarczyk: "The Share in the Development of Science and the National Economy"]

[Text] The current state of development of exact and technological sciences in the army has developed as a result of evolutionary processes occurring in the last 30 years throughout Polish society. At the beginning of these processes, and particularly in the 1950's, the army and its institutes including the Military Technical Academy took rather one-sided advantage of the aid of civilian scientific centers and their cadres. Civilian scientists took part in the organization of scientific stations and their activity in the army, in the organization of teaching and scientific research processes and trained military scientific workers.

Invaluable assistance in this difficult initial period of creating a scientific and didactic life in WAT [Military Technical Academy] was rendered particularly by Soviet specialists who, throughout their stay in the institute, transmitted their rich experience to young Polish cadres and educated the first generation students in the spirit of the ideals of socialism.

As a result of this process, in the 1950's and at the beginning of the 1960's, a firm technological and scientific environment took shape in the army, prepared both for the independent education of scientific cadres and for its own original development of science and scientific research, not only serving the purpose of defense, but also a civilian purpose, the national economy.

At present the highly specialized military scientific environment is a creative center contributing valuable cognitive, ideological and moral values to the scientific life of the country, engaging widely in nationwide initiatives and research programs, capable of independent attack on scientific problems which are of a pioneering nature in many cases, and not rarely goes beyond the actual needs and possibilities of assimilation by

the economy. In this way scientific reserves are created, along with bases for achieving future developmental tasks in Polish Science.

The bonds between science and the army, formed in the first postwar years of reconstruction, were strengthened in the period of the socialist industrialization of the country until now, in the period of accelerated development and building of a developed socialist society, it has become an efficiently functioning system with universal cooperation and collaboration.

The conditions of the harmonious and rapid development of science, technology and the economy of the country require that they be closely connected with the development of military science and technology. This also refers to basic research. For this reason, in the nationwide plans for the development of scientific research, the needs for the defense of the country are considered and the military scientific research stations take part in treating a number of government and focal questions by collaborating with the Polish Academy of Sciences and other civilian scientific institutions.

The Military Technical Academy, along with fulfilling its basic obligation which is to educate technological cadres for the army and to develop basic research and military technology, cooperates with the national economy in a wide area. The value of its share in working out a number of government problems, a dozen or so focal problems and scores of subjects within the composition of ministerial and sector problems has been measured by the amount of several billion zlotys during recent years. This is proof of the great interest in WAT research work on the part of the national economy, work of a high level and contributing outstanding economic benefits to the country.

#### Research and Application in the Field of Electronics

An unusually tempestuous development of technological sciences can be noted in recent years. The science which is leading in this development and whose rate of change is the greatest is electronics. All we have to do is realize that during the lifetime of one generation we have gone through a stage from the origin of electronic tubes through transistors and integrated units to the currently used integrated high-integrity units which have completely changed the electronic picture. The development of other scientific disciplines is also conditioned by progress in electronics, particularly new automated measuring apparatus, the entire gamut of information equipment, mechanics and in general the entire infrastructure of contemporary technology.

Electronics in general and quantum electronics in particular is a WAT strong point in basic and applied research. The first model of the maser, an accelerator of microwave oscillations, originated here. Although the equipment was not put into practical use for economic reasons, it still represented a scientific achievement encouraging further scientific work in this area.

In 1963 a team of scientists from the Electronic Department began work on lasers which was crowned with tremendous success. They succeeded in implementing the first gas laser of the He-Ne type in the country, working at a wavelength of  $1.15 \mu\text{m}$ .

From this moment on began the tempestuous development of scientific research work in all faculties and institutes of the Electronic Department. The leader is the Institute of Quantum Electronics, whose achievements are widely used at home and abroad. This institute is the largest institute in the Electronic Department, the only one of its type in the country. In 1971-1975 it was the coordinator of work on focal problems related to the development of quantum electronics.

At a rapid rate new types of solid state lasers (ruby and neodymium) and a gas laser of the  $\text{CO}_2$  type were implemented. Mastering the technology of producing sources of coherent radiation (lasers) made it possible to put them to practical use.

The first application of lasers on a nationwide scale was a laser coagulation system. As early as April 1965 the first successful eye operation using this system was performed in the Academy of Medicine in Warsaw. The equipment was consigned to mass production in the Polish Optical Plants.

The possibility of concentrating laser radiation on a very small surface was the source of inspiration for further applications of laser in medicine. Taking advantage of this property of laser radiation, individual specimens were made of such equipment as a surgical lancet intended for surface destruction of diseased tissues, equipment for the micropuncture of cells of living organisms and so on. A model of a  $\text{CO}_2$  laser scalpel, worked out a little later, revealed a number of essential virtues in surgical interventions.

The wide application of lasers in the very first period of development was the result of their important property, straight-line propagation of the radiation with scant divergence. A whole series of equipment was elaborated for the calculation of a straight line sent into space. The first equipment of this type was intended for mines. The axes of driven galleries and shafts are aligned with their aid. Twelve of such indicators have been used in the copper mines in the Legnicko-Glogowski Copper Basin.

Laser directional indicators developed in the Institute of Quantum Electronics were successfully used in the construction of the North Port, the construction of the antenna mast of Warsaw Central and in many other installations. They have proven to be especially useful in geodesy. A series of geodetic instruments, for example, laser levelling equipment, laser levellers, theodolites, laser perpendiculars and so on.



A great deal of attention has been devoted to the use of lasers for industrial purposes, to process materials which are difficult to fuse, to join synthetic fibers and so on.

The military use of lasers constitute a separate division of activity in the Institute of Quantum Electronics. Practically speaking almost every military use of lasers known from the professional literature is the subject of research by the Institute workers. Most outstanding here are laser telemeters for various purposes making it possible to measure distances, even on the order of 20 km, with an accuracy of  $\pm 10$  m and laser training equipment in which the laser "replaces", for example, a tank piece. Direct hits are signalled automatically by various visual acoustic effects.

The next branch of electronics is solid state electronics. Its tempestuous development was made possible because of the tremendous progress in the technology of semiconductor, dielectric, magnetic and superconducting materials. Many-sided research on these materials, both theoretical and experimental, led to the discovery of many fascinating physical properties which were in turn used in concrete electronic equipment.

Since 1967 work has been proceeding in WAT on the photoelectrical properties of semiconductors and on unusual apparatus for such research. A series of special vacuum equipment was designed and built for exhausting and technologically treating semiconductor layers. A new model of the reflecting electron microscope was produced for research on the electrical heterogeneities on semiconductor surfaces, and this won an award at the international exhibit in Moscow. This microscope is used in many laboratories at home and abroad. Small-angle automatic diffractometers were also built for material research in the submicroscopic area.

At the beginning of the 1960's, and in connection with the discovery of a method for direct surface excitation of acoustic waves in piezoelectric crystals, the dynamic development of microwave acoustics began. At this time work was also begun in WAT on the amplification and generation of acoustic waves in piezoelectric semiconductors.

In this discipline intensive theoretical, experimental and applied research was undertaken in WAT, at the same time as foreign centers and considerably surpassing them in some problems. As early as the mid-1960's the theoretical bases for electron-phonon amplifiers, ideal resonators and self-excited oscillation generators were developed and worked out in detail by Division General Prof Dr Hab Eng Sylwester Kaliski. At the same time experimental work on the implementation of theoretical concepts was undertaken by a team working under his immediate direction. The theoretical accomplishments and the experimental results achieved were the reason for this team being given the state award in the first degree in 1970.

On the basis of theoretical elaborations and concepts they proceeded to experimental work on electron-spin-phonon systems and optoacoustic systems. From this point of view WAT is the leading center in the country. These systems have already been introduced into industry. Preparations are being made for production to satisfy civil and defense needs. Colored television filters, computer memories and so on will be produced on this basis.

The next electronic discipline is microelectronics. WAT undertook scientific and scientific-teaching activity in this field in 1968. Teaching laboratories were organized and research work was begun in the area of electro-physical properties of semiconductor structures. In cooperation with the "TEWA" Semiconductor Plant, several original methods for investigating the electro-physical properties of MIS [expansion unknown] structures were worked out. Systems for interoperational control of the technology of integrated MOS [Metal Oxide Semiconductor] systems used in calculators were also worked out.

Finally a model series of hybrid amplifiers (T-AH-104 in the 600 MHz band), representing the level of world technology, was built in our institute. These amplifiers are necessary for the industrial production of the most modern measuring instruments and make it possible to eliminate expensive imports.

A digital system, unique in the world, was also worked out for the measurement of dynamic nanosecond parameters in integrated digital systems. This permits considerably more exact measurement than do conventional instruments. This system is used in the CEMI [expansion unknown] Institute of Electronic Technology in measuring the dynamic parameters of integrated digital systems, particularly those with large-scale integration (LSI).

The WAT workers, (just as those in WIHE [Military Institute of Hygiene and Epidemiology]), built a microwave dosimeter signalling too long a period of exposure to a strong microwave field, for the purpose of protecting personnel from microwave irradiation.

Many achievements have been noted in the field of constructing radar simulators. Here we must mention the target simulator for the radar site on fighter aircraft, the target simulator and static for radar stations, and a training stimulator for the work of a group of radar system reconnoitering stations.

In spite of its military character, this work indirectly provides considerable savings to the national economy as well.

An important direction of scientific activity in the Electronic Department is telecommunication systems. Among other work, the following work has been achieved in this area:

An automatic, small volume, telephone center built with electronic and magnetic systems with a capacity of 20 numbers;

Equipment with an extraction control to protect telegraph or teletype signals;

Optimalization of the telecommunication network structure, with the final results of this work making it possible to build an optimal communication network with the requirements and equipment desired from higher up;

Data transmission equipment guaranteeing the transmission of information by radio with high reliability and at high speed, and using a teleprinter or reader as a data source;

Equipment for automatic communication connection and change in radio channels; and

Quasi-electronic automatic telephone center.

Of other electronic accomplishments we can mention as an example the angle set transformer for numerically controlled machine tools, used in industry within the framework of anti-import production.

Various types of graduated engines, designed and produced in WAT, along with electronic control systems have been used in numerically controlled machine tool systems and reader drives.

#### In the Field of Technological Cybernetics

Cybernetics, as the general theory of control processes, includes many disciplines dealing with control processes, including the theory of large systems control, operating research and computers.

In view of the great importance of this discipline, primarily for the army, the Cybernetics Department was set up in WAT in the 1960's. The cadre of this Department have recorded many accomplishments. Here one of the first digital computers in the country originated, the "BINUZ" constructed with tube technology. In 1961-1965 the research and design team of cyberneticists worked out and produced:

The UMA-60 analog computer, the central part of which is composed of 20 sum and calculating systems, and of universal and specialized function generators;

The "JAGA-63" digital differential analyzer, working in the binary-decimal system, and designed exclusively for research purposes;

The UMA-20-63 analog computer to assure training of students in the radar area; and

The "ELWAT-1" universal analog computer used mainly for modelling automatic control systems and solving linear and nonlinear differential equations with constant and variable coefficients.

It should be stressed that the analog machines designed in WAT were the first to go into national production. The first solutions of analog-digital machines (hybrid) with tube technology, semiconductors and integrated circuits were also the first in the country. These machines, operating in teaching institutions and industry, represent anti-import production of essential importance.

Work is now in progress on input-output equipment for mathematical machinery, making direct cooperation between man and computer possible. For example a graphoscope for presenting information in a graphic form, generated by the Odra-1305 computer, has been developed recently in cooperation with the "MERA-ELWRO" Wrocław Electronic Plants.

A number of projects developed for the army concern the organization of work and management. Industry and agriculture have already made use of them a number of times. Among other things, a technological project has been worked out for the POLMO Association for the system of automatic processing of POLMO-BEHAMOT accounting information for the repair and parts subsystem, and programs for planning production, a normative base and a system of management information have been worked out. An internal system of descriptors, making possible multiple access to a central computer, has been successfully introduced in the same institute. This makes it possible to use computers efficiently and rapidly in scientific research.

#### In the Mechanical Field

In the 1950's and 1960's a tempestuous development of the mechanical disciplines took place in our country. Polish mechanics took over first place in the world. Scientists from WAT also recorded success here.

The resonance of travelling waves in plastic media, the problem of the propagation of stress waves and their effect on installations, the propagation of shock and detonation waves and their effect on partitions located in the ground or water, the theory of associated electromagneto-thermo-mechanical fields, a new concept (adequate for reality) theory of heat conduction, a new concept of quantum mechanics, cognitive work on metal fatigue and so on, are all problems solved by WAT cadres, and have entered the professional literature of the world forever.

Computers have made a real revolution in the field of solving problems in the mechanics of continuous media. This does not only refer to the possibility of finding solutions for problems which could have been considered insoluble in the past, but also of the means with which such solutions are found. This involves modern numerical methods and concepts relating to the formulation of these problems.

Computers have been programmed and equipped in WAT with efficiently acting computer languages, which make it possible to solve a number of problems in the area of the dynamics of deformable bodies and aeroelasticity. A number of problems have been worked out for the computation of earth dynamics (wave processes) and the dynamics of fortified installations subjected to the action of shock and detonation waves. In the course of working on these problems a method different from those used in the past was developed for calculating wave processes in stratified media.

Worthy of emphasis is the fact that very complex and complicated problems concerning the effect of pressure waves on underground installations led to a useful formula suitable for practical engineering calculations. In this area a set of manuals was developed for builders with a suitable set of tables and calculated programs for design. This work has eliminated the need for the costly ordering of solutions for these types of problems in foreign centers.

Toward the end of the 1960's intensive work was begun in WAT on the applications of a finite element method for calculating the resistance of structures with complex geometric shapes. A strong group of specialists developed in this area, and they have achieved recognition at home and abroad. With the aid of the system created by them, they have carried out calculations, among other things, of the undercarriage of trucks, driver cabins, the fuselage of agricultural airplanes, the steel construction of typical hangars, high-pressure boilers, and the calculations of scores of bridge structures.

The research conducted in WAT in the area of analysis of stresses and deformation involved the static and dynamic properties of new alloys and of ship construction elements made with them, the rheological properties of new kinds of light materials (laminates) intended for aircraft and ship construction, creep in tool steels, determination on the basis of photoelastic research and numerical calculations of the state of stress of the frame and other elements of high-powered and high-pressure engines, the dynamics of engine distribution, methods of measuring the pressure of automobile and ship piston rings, photoelastic research on dynamic stresses caused by percussive loads, vibrations and the construction of vibrators, displacement, deformation and stresses on bridges and so on.

The research begun in WAT and carried out with photoelastic and holographic methods on heat stress in elastic and ultraelastic areas, as well as research on stress waves in damping media, are of basic scientific and technological importance. As examples in the field of the direct application of techniques we may mention research associated with the construction of internal combustion machines and high-pressure boilers, as well as the determination of fields of pressure stressing fortified installations located in the ground during the explosion of nuclear and conventional charges.

There has been broad development of research on the fatigue of machine elements under circumstances of complex and contact loads with the use of EMC [digital computer] techniques. Here we should mention:

The production of original apparatus and the elaboration of methodology and research on the surface fatigue of models of cogwheels and the formation of concepts to evaluate the suitability of materials for cogwheels;

Fatigue research on elements made of steel on roller bearings under conditions of one-time effect of bending and contact stresses;

The elaboration of complementary methods of research for reconstructing the load history of elements destroyed by fatigue;

The creation of optimization programs for planning cogwheels with the aid of EMC and their immediate useful application in construction offices;

Construction of original apparatus for fatigue research on machine systems and elements with an altered torsion and with a possibility of changing load frequency; and

The production of original equipment for fatigue research on track vehicle springs produced in the Main Center for Research and Development of Railroad Technology.

Likewise the methods worked out in WAT for the use of the energy in explosive materials to fasten pipes in energy boilers and heat exchangers, as well as for cladding, have produced great economic benefits. For example the Industrial Boiler Factory in Sosnowiec has been using our explosive method exclusively for a rather long time already.

Recently a team of scientific workers at WAT, with the cooperation of the Main Institute of Mining and the Pronit-ERG Plants, worked out and put into production a new explosive suspension material, WATEX. This has a number of virtues, including great effectiveness in mining and in breaking up rock, and a high degree of safety during transportation and charging of embrasures.

#### In the Area of Aircraft Technology

The scientific problems embraced in WAT and associated with the development of construction and technological use of aircraft equipment can be expressed briefly in the following points:

The elaboration of calculating methods based on the broad use of computer technology including flight mechanics and the theory of controlling flying installations, the statics and dynamics of airframe construction, the thermodynamics of gasses, the dynamics and strength of flight engines and elaboration of methods for modelling and dynamic simulation of continuous and discrete systems.

The development of experimental methods being applied in optimalization of parameters of systems constructed on the basis of flow technology, in the determination of temperature in internal combustion engines and the thermal physical properties of solid bodies, in aerodynamic research on small and large velocities of flight through the air, in research on control elements and systems of flying installations, in research on hydraulic system elements, in elaborating the technology of field repair of aircraft by using cements and in elaborating new insulators for cryogenic equipment.

Research work has been carried out extensively in the field of retaining metal contacts by means of cements and connecting laminated materials with duralumin. The results of this research was taken advantage of in working out technology for repair of airframe coverings with the use of cement technology. New technology in the construction of light geodesic masts, made with cement technology, was also worked out and introduced.

A series of scientific research work was also performed in WAT in the area of the industrial use of aerodynamics for the needs of various segments of the national economy. Among others, research and optimalization of ventilating systems for radiochemical extractors, digesters and assembly positions were conducted for the "POLON" Nuclear Industry Association. A series of aerodynamic investigations of the H9 bus, produced by the Sanocka Autobus Factory, were made for the "Polmo" Motorization Industry Association.

Theoretical and experimental work was carried out in 1968-1972 on the high-power generation of controlled, high-power acoustic waves. A construction project and prototype were also made, and research on a high-power dynamic siren was carried out.

When the first "Bizons" appeared on our fields a few years ago, it was found that a weak point in the new combines was the hydraulic system. Damage multiplied during times of use. Under this situation, in a very short space of time specialists from the Military Technical Academy with a knowledge of similar systems in aircraft equipment were called on for aid. At the beginning the problem was solved as an emergency, for the harvest period. Afterwards a number of essential structural changes were suggested, and these superbly increased the service life of the system and guaranteed its reliability.

The use of helicopters in using casual landing fields causes a great deal of dust concentration in the air during starting, landing and hovering at low altitudes. This has a very bad effect on the service life of the engines and causes a considerable shortening of periods between repairs. A team of scientists at WAT developed a dust catcher for incoming air which permits maintenance of the service life and reliability of engines at the desired level.

## In the Field of Mechanical Vehicles

Providing mechanical vehicles with the required technological qualities is conditioned by the conduct of research aimed at improving their systems and assemblies, primarily those of engines, and the mechanisms of drive, carrying, travelling and other systems.

In the 1960's theoretical and structural problems of a multifuel engine were solved. Research was carried out to increase the effective parameters of engine work, through the choice of combustion chambers and realization of a controlled combustion process in newly designed engines with automatic ignition for vehicles of medium carrying capacity.

Model research was carried out on a broad front on the choice of fuels and lubricants. Thanks to this the scientists in uniform managed to break down the prejudice of users against "Selektor" oil of domestic production (used to lubricate Fiat and Warszawa automobile engines) and to introduce them on the domestic market. Until quite recently we paid foreign firms large sums of money for this oil. Analogous research was carried out with transmission fluid. They again allowed costly imports to be eliminated. An interesting and logical achievement of WAT scientists is the determination of optimal periods of oil usage in an engine. As a result of model research carried out, the time for using such oils was extended from 3,000-4,000 km to 10,000 km.

A new cast steel substitute was developed for the links on tank caterpillar tracks. Its service life is twice as long as that of the material used previously. This accomplishment interested the heavy industry, where the problem of the service life of links, for example on excavator tracks, is equally essential and important.

We may also speak of important accomplishments in the case of research on filtering used fluids. Among others, Polish fibrous pre-filters were introduced into Star automobiles, which again eliminated expensive imports from the West.

Analytic and experimental research was carried out on a broad front in the area of the vibration dynamics of automobiles. Among other things, a methodology of laboratory and road research on automobile vibrations was used for automobiles of the Star brand. The results of the work were used to optimize construction of these automobiles.

Experimental research was carried out in WAT on automobile tires. They included a wide assortment of tires of both domestic and foreign production. The object of the research was phenomena occurring in the zone of tire contact with the road surface, changes in the distribution of elementary forces under various conditions of tire work, and the sliding of the tire elements. The results of this work provide a basis for improving the construction of tires produced domestically.



One of the scientific teams at WAT is carrying out considerably advanced work on anti-skid automobile equipment. The brake sets currently in use on automotive vehicles do not permit full exploitation of the grip properties of the wheels against the pavement. As a result of this, wheels lock and vehicle control is lost, especially on slippery pavements. In addition the braking path is extended. Analysis of the braking process demonstrates possibilities for optimizing it. For this purpose automatic modulation of braking forces is necessary, and therefore pressure in the brake system of the vehicle. On the basis of theoretical analysis of the braking process and of road research conducted, a concept and assumption were worked out for a system modulating the wheels on the rear axis of the vehicle. This represents an original solution, not based on any existing domestic or foreign models.

The modulation system designed and built was tested in the laboratory and put into use on a research vehicle. On the basis of road tests made on various surfaces, it was found that the results achieved conformed to the assumptions. The system developed surpasses well-known foreign equipment, among other things in the limiting frequency, which is about 5 times greater. This system guarantees greater efficiency of action and vehicle safety. Keeping in mind the positive results obtained, we cannot help thinking that in the very near future automobiles will no longer "fall into" dangerous skidding, thanks to the work of this team.

Within the framework of cooperation with the Sanocka Autobus Factory, a cooling system was developed for the new type engines for the H9 bus, intended for intercity and rural transportation, along with a ventilation system project for the tourist version of the H9 bus, and aerodynamic research was carried out for new models of the bus.

The scientific and technological support for heavy working machinery was expanded in WAT. New concepts, for example, for remote control of machinery, their use in low-temperature work, and so forth, are being developed. Remote control of working machinery is indispensable from the point of view of BHP [industrial safety and hygiene] on dangerous and hard to reach terrain. One of these machines, for example, the M-250H excavator, developed jointly with the Warynski Institutes, was presented at the Ministry of Engineering Industry exposition organized on the occasion of the Seventh PZPR Congress.

#### In the Field of Military Geodesy and Engineering

A great deal of the scientific research work carried out in this field has already been used both for military practice and in the national economy. Some of these have become famous throughout Poland.

The following should be mentioned from the most essential work of the last two years:

Elaboration of a theory of designing plates and coatings operating under ultraelastic conditions, such as being subjected to pressure impulses;

The realization of modernization projects in a number of installations in the Stalowa Wola Foundry;

Modernization of the drainage portion of the "Gorniki" port wharf in Swinoujscie;

The elaboration of methods and of laboratory and firing range positions for research on structures and buildings under dynamic load and the performance of a number of diagnostic resistance investigations;

Elaboration and introduction of new building materials based on synthetic resins, including some with very high resistant parameters;

Elaboration of a technology for rapid stabilization of various kinds of earth and a technology of using refuse from the soft coal industry and the lumber industry;

Elaboration and application of number of universal geodetic laser instruments, photodetectors and recorders making it possible to automate some labor-consuming measurement activities;

Elaboration and application of stereophotogrammetric methods of establishing verification data for trace work which, based on EMC technology, makes it possible to considerably increase work and obtain greater exactitude; and

Elaboration of methods and instruments making it possible (through remote environmental research) to rapidly determine the physico-mechanical properties of ground from the point of view of choice of proper and detailed location of installations.

#### In the Area of Armament Technology

This field is of a purely military nature. New models and techniques of armament worked out here indirectly contribute millions in savings to the national economy. In addition work directly intended for the use of the national economy has also been carried out. Some of these are:

Elaboration of a new technology for welding thin-walled pipes to a seam;

Elaboration of an industrial gun and ammunition for removing accretions in the rotary furnaces of the cement industry;

Elaboration of diagnostic systems for rapid control of the operation of radar stations;

Elaboration of technology for continuous application of aluminum to wire; and

Elaboration of technology for firm soldering of gas cylinders.

The WAT experience shows that the statements sometimes made about the contradictions between the function of socioeconomic usefulness of science and the development of the same science are not confirmed in practice. Quite the contrary, the well-known achievements of WAT and the attainment of a high academic rank by the institution came only after its strong involvement in the technological support of the army and with the defense industry and the national economy. This provided additional opportunities for realizing its own research program, the problems of which were actually most often the result of contractor orders. Scientists have also found a great deal of satisfaction in participating in the accomplishment of defensive tasks, and at the same time from their great service to the economy of the nation and from opportunities to carry out their own ambitious research plans under conditions of well-equipped laboratories. It has been shown that the division of research into basic and applied should be very flexible, since there are strong reciprocal stimulating connections between cognitive and applied problems.

The examples given, although random and incomplete, testify to the great contribution of the Polish National Army, including the Military Technical Academy, in the development of our society, its economy, science, education and culture. They testify to its constant presence and active cooperation in the daily life of the peaceful work of our nation.

Participation of WAT Workers in Scientific Meetings  
(congresses, conferences, symposia)

Scientific meetings	Number in years					Total
	1952-56	1957-61	1962-66	1967-71	1972-76	
International	--	--	10	45	211	266
National	56	101	212	420	679	1468

6806

CSO: 2600

POLAND

POLISH JURIST: U. S. VIOLATES INTERNATIONAL LAW IN CHILDREN CASE

Prague CTK in English 2114 GMT 29 Apr 77 LD

[Text] Warsaw, 29 April, CETEKA--The decision of the American court to keep the Gabriel children in the United States runs counter to all basic principles of international law, Professor Zbigniew Resich, dean of the faculty of law at Warsaw University, has told CETEKA.

In an interview on the letter the Czech mother of the two children, Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova, sent to President Carter several days ago, the professor stressed that the court decision was also in contrast with the spirit of all international acts, such as the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, as these documents are certainly binding also for the United States.

The American court should take a decision enabling the children to return to their mother. If this has not been so, the ruling of the San Bernardino Court was unjust and discriminated against the children for their social and political origin.

Professor Resich, who represented Poland in the Human Rights Commission between 1962-1971, recalled that an international seminar on children's rights in Warsaw in 1963 clearly stressed that the family was the basic unit in which a child should be brought up.

As far as international law is concerned, the court should decide in the interest of the child, and the interest of the child is identical with its belonging to a family, meaning also the duty to passing it to the (?care) of the mother.

Professor Resich said he has not come across a similar case in practice, and added it is shocking that children, who have not lost their Czechoslovak citizenship, cannot speak their mother tongue. This is something deserving condemnation, he stressed.

The dean emphasized that courts are independent institutions and as such must abide by the content of law and the interest of the parties involved.

No political interests may on any account have a bearing on the court procedure.

He added that in the case of Vlasta Gabrielova-Zludkynova a stand might be taken by the U. S. Supreme Court within its own jurisdiction.

CSO: 2020

YUGOSLAVIA

MARJAN OROZEN VIEWS SECURITY SITUATION IN SLOVENIA

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 28 May 77 p 6 AU

[J. Pjevic report]

[Text] Ljubljana, 27 May--In reply to the question asked by delegate Kristina Smid from the Ljubljana Bezigrad Commune in connection with the report of the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs for last year, Marjan Orozen, republican secretary for internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, delivered an extensive statement at yesterday's session of the Chamber of Communes of the Assembly of Slovenia.

Replying to the delegate's question, Marjan Orozen informed the delegates that criminal acts against the people and state, mankind and international law, acts such as insults against the state, its organs and representatives, the dissemination of false reports and the abuse of religion and the church for political purposes represented only 0.4 percent of all criminal acts which were detected and dealt with by organs concerned with the internal affairs of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia in 1976.

Insignificant Social Danger

In addition, these criminal acts are, as a rule, by their numbers and seriousness an insignificant social danger because what was involved in most cases were the so-called verbal offenses--insults against the state and acts inciting national, racial or religious intolerance, hatred and discord. These acts accounted for 81.21 percent of all aforementioned offenses. Acts of hostile propaganda accounted for 18.22 percent of the total, while other acts--as a rule more serious criminal acts against the constitutional system--accounted for only 0.67 percent. Compared with 1975 there was a 27 percent reduction in these occurrences, while compared with 1974 this reduction was even 47.16 percent.

These and other data, Orozen noted, confirm the assessment that the security situation in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia is stable and favorable, just as the sociopolitical atmosphere and the extensive sociopolitical activity of citizens and all working people in our republic--in implementing their self-managing rights and obligations and in implementing the constitutional concept of associated labor in activities in the field of social self-protection and security of citizens--is also generally favorable.

Orozen further said that the foreign press has reported on criminal acts against the constitutional system and on their perpetrators last year and at the beginning of this year. "I will mention these acts--there were only four of them--on which the supreme court of the Socialist Republic of Slovenia, as a higher court, also pronounced a valid judgment":

Franc Srebotnik was sentenced on 19 January this year to a 6-month [Ljubljana DELO 28 May says 6-year] rigorous prison term for war crimes against the civilian population which he committed during the national liberation struggle. As a commander of a home guard post in Idrija, he operated as an organizer of the home guards, tortured the arrested persons and tortured and acted in an inhuman way toward the civilian population.

#### Cases of Four

Franc Milavcic, former district court judge, was on February 18 this year validly sentenced to a 2-year and 6-month rigorous prison term. He worked and agitated for constitutional changes in the state and the social system and made preparations for some kind of a program for a united Slovenia which would secede from Yugoslavia, abolish self-management and social property, inaugurate a multiparty political system, base the economy on private capital and bring about a national reconciliation which would thus rehabilitate national traitors and the like. In connection with this program, he tried to organize a group of followers but failed in doing this. Without any authorization he supplied unauthorized persons with data, which, according to the order of the chief of the state organ, represented an official secret, with the aim of using this data for various political speculations.

Reactionary circles abroad which supported him in these acts have recently initiated a greater campaign in his favor in certain foreign press organs and through certain, particularly rightwing, organizations, portraying him as a great writer who is persecuted by our society because he expressed his views, something which is allegedly contrary to the so-called third basket of the Helsinki conference conclusions.

Viktor Blazic was on April 24 this year validly sentenced to a 1-year and 3-month prison term for acting against our constitutional system, because he, among other things, portrayed the social and political situation in our country in a false and hostile manner, besmirched President Tito and our policy of nonalignment, attacked the Yugoslav Government's policy in connection with our national minorities abroad and so forth. Just as Miklavcic, he also resorted to anonymity for spreading hostile positions.

Franc Luzar, pensioner, was on April 6 this year validly sentenced to a 2-year rigorous prison term because he also falsely portrayed the social and political situation in the state. In a writing, which he disseminated, he portrayed the national liberation struggle and the acts of partisans in a negative, hostile and false manner, glorified the white guard movement and the home guards, abused religion as a trap for petty political purposes and [asked for a moral disqualification of people who do not agree with his views of the world.

From what has been said, Orozen noted, it clearly results that none of the aforementioned had been sentenced for writing literary works or for expressing personal views.

#### We Cannot Be Indifferent

These are the most serious cases of criminal acts against the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia which the organs of detection and persecution and the court organs examined in recent years and concluded in the first 3 months of this year. All other cases of criminal acts were of a lighter nature, for which the courts imposed shorter prison terms or suspended sentences or which the public prosecutor's offices reclassified as violations or ended the proceedings because of insignificant social danger.

In addition to the four aforementioned persons, only 13 persons sentenced by courts in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia are now serving sentences for criminal acts mentioned at the beginning of this report.

Taking into account what has been said above, we can assess that the criminal acts and violations of a political nature in the Socialist Republic of Slovenia now do not represent any danger which could cause concern for our sociopolitical system. This does not mean, Majan Orozen said in closing his reply to the question put by delegate Kristina Smid, that we can be indifferent toward such cases, particularly when it is obvious that they are inspired from abroad, or, rather, by hostile political emigres, be it the home guard or the COMINFORM EMIGRES and when they obviously abuse and violate our democratic laws.

CSO: 2800



## YUGOSLAVIA

### YUGOSLAVIA'S KARDELJ DISCUSSES JOURNALISM TASKS

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1377, 29 May 77  
p 11 AU

[Article by Edvard Kardelj, member of the Presidency of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the LCY Presidium: "An Informed 'Yes' written in Connection With Accepting the Dimitrije Tucovic Prize for Journalism From Nin"]

[Excerpts] Comrades, I sincerely thank you for this tribute which you have paid me by awarding me the Tucovic Prize.

I think that the initiative to institute a prize morally stimulating and supporting the development of our journalism is a very good initiative primarily because, according to my impression, this field of our creative social work does not as yet enjoy sufficient social support.

I am primarily referring in this case to that journalism which in some way represents a component part of the entire complex or system of public communications and which is particularly needed by our society today.

On this occasion I wish to particularly point out one aspect of the problems and tasks of this journalism: our constitution, our system of sociopolitical relations and our political system provide extraordinarily great freedoms, possibilities and rights for our workingman in the process of decisionmaking on all possible problems of social life. However, a large number of these decisions which the workers must make within the self-management system requires, among other things, qualifications and knowledge. Naturally, we cannot demand that every worker should have a university-level education to be able to be a self-manager.

Therefore, society and its entire method of functioning and its system must extend their support and assistance to the worker to enable him to more deeply perceive the facts on which he must decide. If society is not able to do this then all the many self-managing rights will exist only on paper, whereas the real power will remain in the hands of those who know and who have facts at their disposal. That is, I mean, those who are able to more deeply interpret these facts. These people represent a relatively thin layer of our society.

Thus, if we wish and are willing to help our self-manager and our workingman to obtain the necessary qualifications, then we must enable him to have access not only to superficial information about facts, but rather also to the scientific interpretation of facts; an interpretation which will make it possible for him to really say, as a genuinely informed person, his "yes" or his "no" whenever decisions are made. Herein lies also one of the sources of contradictions and, I would say, even of discrepancy between our society's views of principle and our everyday practice. It is within these relations that journalism, a serious scientific and professional journalism, a Marxist journalism can play an extraordinarily great role as far as social problems are concerned.

Naturally, I do not reduce everything to journalism. There are many other problems which must be solved in our social and political system to overcome all contradictions. But in any event, as I have said, a good Marxist journalism in the sphere of social problems and in connection with other aspects of our social life can be not only one of the essential social creative factors, but also one of the essential supports of stabilization of our entire self-managing system.

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END